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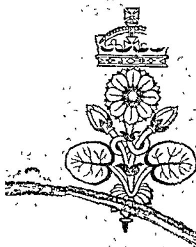
JOURNAL

OF THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIET

OF

BOMBAY.



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THE JOURNAL

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OF

BOMBAY.

THE FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 7th of April, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M., K.C.I., was elected to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the business before the Meeting was to establish an Anthropological Society in Bombay. It was not intended to be a merely local Society, but one that should embrace the whole of the Indian Empire. No institution, whose labours were specially devoted to Anthropology, had hitherto been established in India, although daily experience showed the pressing need of it. It was, in his opinion, a matter of grave reproach, both to Natives and Europeans in the country, that so little had been done in the way of investigating and [illegible] recording anthropological facts. There was, probably, no country in [illegible] the world which offered so interesting a field for anthropological [illegible] were adopted [illegible]. It might be asked what the subjects were, to which the [illegible] ought to direct its attention. They were so numerous, [illegible] was impossible to give them in detail; but the following [illegible] might be referred to as examples. In the first place, they [illegible] endeavour to systematize the knowledge at present [illegible] with regard to the races of India. Such facts, as had already been published, were, for the most part, to be [illegible]

frenzy, under the influence of which a person was seized with a fit of trembling and spoke while possessed by a deity, demon, or departed spirit. Next came the constitution and practices of the religious orders, of which the Gosáins and Bairágis formed the most important sections. Among those practices might be mentioned the extraordinary one of religious anthropophagy, which he had made the subject of special enquiry. There were other points worthy of investigation with respect to the sacred shrines, idols, pilgrimages and fasts of the Hindus. He was sorry to say that very little was known with respect to the places of pilgrimage. Regarding *Hingláj, for example, which, although situated in Baluchistán,* was a very sacred Hindu shrine, there only existed a general description, published by Captain Hart in the Journal of the Bombay Geographical Society many years ago. The primitive custom of human sacrifice had once very generally obtained in India, more especially among the pre-Áryan tribes, and was even now more frequently practised in that country than was commonly supposed. The mythology of animals and plants next claimed their attention. Related to the former were totemism and animal-worship. The earliest objects of worship appeared to have been the dog, tiger, jackal, and other carrion-eaters; but the subject was too vast to allow of more than passing mention. It might be stated, however, that it stood in intimate relation to the primitive method of disposing of the dead by exposure. Among some of the rude tribes inhabiting the Himálaya range, mountains, lakes and rivers were adored. That was a very primitive form of religion, which had not, as yet, attracted the attention it deserved. He had recently obtained from a member of the Bengal Civil Service, a curious account of an invitation, which that gentleman had once received from certain jungle-people in the neighbourhood of Dárjiling to dine with Kanchanjanga, the great mountain-god, and his wife, a mountain lake. The Englishman had seated himself in front of the

rude images representing those deities, and had gravely partaken of his share of the feast. Kanchanjanga and his spouse, on the other hand, were supposed by the simple hill-men to consume merely the spiritual essence of the portions set before them. The serpent-worship and lingam-worship of the Śaivas were remarkable phenomena in the primitive religion of India. The former had been dealt with very elaborately by the late Mr. James Fergusson, but the latter still awaited adequate treatment. Another phase of the cult of Śiva was the adoration paid to him under the form of Bhairava, and to his spouse Kálí, both of whom were conceived of as blood-thirsty and cruel deities delighting in the slaughter of countless buffaloes and goats. Such sacrifices were still annually performed on a large scale at Kálíghát in Calcutta, and instances of a similar nature had recently been recorded as having occurred at Khatmandu in Nepál, and at Kalyán in the Tanna district. Those animals were now unquestionably offered up in substitution of human victims. Another very important subject for enquiry was the influence of Buddhism on Modern Hinduism, to which Dr. Stevenson had called attention some years ago. Next came demon-worship, on which Dr. Caldwell, Bishop of Tinnevelly, was the greatest authority. It still flourished among the Dravidian races of Southern India, but was by no means confined to them, for it was also to be found throughout the Deccan, the Konkan and Gujarát. Among the myriad objects of superstitious belief, iron and salt played very prominent parts. As regards iron, its magical virtues might easily be explained by the wonderful revolution its discovery had wrought among the races of the stone-age. The importance attached to salt was probably due, in a great measure, to its antiseptic property. The food, clothing, ornaments, musical instruments and implements of the jungle-tribes were also matters which required to be more carefully studied. Gesture-language was another important subject for scientific investigation. It had

recently excited a large amount of attention among anthropological students, more especially in the United States. He understood that enquiries into its various forms were being pursued under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. It was, no doubt, the chief means employed by the alalus or speechless man, in communicating with his fellows in the infancy of the human race. In that connection, he suggested that the secret signs, employed by the Bráhmans and members of the Hindu religious orders of India in their daily rites, were possibly a survival of the gesture-language of primeval times. A Hindu, who had left his service some years ago, and had embraced the calling of a Bairágí belonging to the Rámánandi sect, had recently shown him nearly twenty secret signs in common use among them. The Society, he thought, should endeavour to obtain photographs, illustrating the various positions of the hands while making those signs. There were, also, numerous popular customs and superstitions connected with the three most important incidents in human life, viz., birth, marriage, and death. Those, it would be found, reflected the crude conceptions of savage man, more especially with regard to the nature of the human soul and the doctrine of a future life. He referred, by way of illustration, to the fear lest the ghost should return to injure the living, and to the belief in the efficacy of water as a means of preventing such return. The use of water, in religious rites, for the purpose of banning spirits, was traceable to this source; so also the almost universal idea of a river of death. Spirits, it was believed, could not cross running-water; hence the Tipperahs of Chittagong, on the death of a man belonging to their tribe who might chance to die away from his kindred, stretched threads across the streams flowing between his grave and his native village, in order that his spirit might be enabled to return to its old haunts. The Society had, furthermore, to explore the region of comparative law, in which so little had hitherto been accomplished. To this branch of enquiry belonged,

amongst other matters, mother-law, or the system of descent through the female line, which had found its chief exponents in Messrs. McLennan and Morgan. That system still existed among the Nairs of the western coast, and traces of the same were also observable in other parts of India. Belonging to the same branch were caste rules, as well as the various forms prescribed for oaths and ordeals. With regard to oaths, he had been particularly struck by a curious custom, which obtained among the Mhárs and Mángs of the Central Provinces, of swearing a man on the tail of a dog. That animal, he believed, was the death-hound, the Kerberos of the Greeks, which occupied so conspicuous a place in all mythologies. He hoped, at some future time, to submit to the Society his views regarding the dog in myth and custom. The Society might also direct its attention to the institutions connected with the genesic development of man. He referred especially to the rites of the Wáma-márga in Sakti-worship, and to the dedication of dancing-girls to the service of the temple, *e.g.*, the Murlís at Jejuri in the Deccan, a shrine which had not yet been described. He considered they were bound, as a scientific body, to publish in their Journal the results of all their investigations, having due regard to the form in which the same ought properly to appear. As regarded anatomical relations, it would be the duty of the Society to collect statistics regarding the capacity of the human skull, and other measurements of the human frame, among the various castes and races of the Indian Empire. Attention should, also, be paid to their physiological and psychological characteristics, especially with reference to the effects of climatic influences and crossing. He looked to the medical Members of the Society to carry out this important work, as being one which lay peculiarly within their province. He concluded by apologising to the Meeting for having detained them so long. He had not been prepared to deliver a formal address on that occasion. The field of investigation was so vast, that it was impossible to do more than touch

lightly on a few of the most important questions, to which the Society might profitably direct its attention. On starting, the Society had met with an amount of support which was as surprizing as it was gratifying. This was, doubtless, owing to the fact that the educated public believed it would supply what they considered to be an important want. The Society had started with more than seventy members. He hoped that it would ere long number some hundreds on its rolls. Its success, he believed, would be secured if those of the members, who were able to do so, would assist in scientific research. He looked, above all, to support and co-operation from the educated natives of the country. In diplomacy, the well-known saying:—"*Surtout point de zèle*" doubtless often served as a useful warning. The motto of their Society, however, should be:—"*Surtout de zèle.*"

The following gentlemen were announced as Original Members of the Society:—

Rev. J. E Abbott; Hon. F. Forbes Adam; Yasavant Vasudev Athalye, M.A., LL.B.; Madhusudan Vasudev Athalye; Surgeon-Major Geo. Bainbridge, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., L.S.A.; G. A. Barnett, C.I.E.; Major W. S. S. Bissett, R.E.; A. Breul; Kharsetji Rastamji Cama; Rastamji Kharsetji Rastamji Cama; B.A., LL.B.; J. Macnabb Campbell, Bo.C.S.; Narayan Ganesh Chandavadkar, B.A., LL.B.; Mirza Moosa Cowser; H. Curwen; J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., K.C.I., K.G.G., M.R.A.S.; Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh; Moreshvar Gopal Deshmukh, B.A., B.Sc., M.D.; Surgeon-Major W. Dymock, B.A., M.R.C.S.; B. F. Farnham; T. P. H. M. Filgate; G. W. Forrest, M.A.; Gajanan Sadashiv; Rao Bahadur Ganpatrao Bhaskerji; Grattan Geary; R. Gilbert; Surgeon J. P. Greany, M.D., M.Ch., L.M; Mahamad Hussein Hakim; Andrew Hay; C. W. L. Jackson, B.A.; Hon. Mr. Justice Jardine; C. E. Kane; Jehangir Dosabhai Framji Karaka;

Harold R. King; Surgeon K. R. Kirtikar, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; Vamanrao Ganpatrao Kothare; Rev. P. H. LeFebvre, B.A.; Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., M.A.I.; C. Lowell; C. B. Lynch; W. M. Macaulay; D. MacDonald, M.D., B.Sc., C.M.; R. N. Mant; Rev. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D.; Surgeon-Major G.A. Maconachie, M.D., C.M.; Hon. Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, C.S.I., M.R.A.S.; Shivram Gangadhar Mandlik; Capt. G. W. Martin, F.R.G.S.; Rev. H. N. Midwinter, M.A.; Surgeon-General W. J. Moore, C.I.E., L.R.C.P.; Mansukhlal Mugutlal Munshi, B.A., LL.B.; Ghanasham Nilkant Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.; E. C. K. Ollivant, Bo.C.S.; Surg.-Maj. D. A. Patterson, M.D.; O. S. Pedraza; H.M. Phipson; Lt.-Col. A. B. Portman; H. A. Richardson, B.A.; F. C. Rimington; J. M. Romanis, B.Sc.; Capt. H. O. Selby, R.E.; Shamrao Vithal; Shantaram Narayan; J. Steiner; Commander H. A. Street, R.N.; Hardevram Nanabhai Vakil; Framji Rastamji Vikaji, B.A., LL.B.; Bala Mangesh Wagle, M.A., LL.B.; Capt. W. P. Walshe; Rienzi G. Walton, C.E., M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S.; Surgeon-Major Geo. Waters, L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; David Watson; Surgeon-Major T. S. Weir; E. Wimbridge; Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.

The following *resolutions were then proposed and carried* unanimously:—

(1) "That a Society be established in Bombay, to be called 'THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY'" (2) "That the annual subscription payable by each Member of the Society be Rs. 10." (3) "That Mr. Edward Tyrrell Leith be elected the first President of the Society." (4) "That a Provisional Committee be appointed, consisting of the following:—Messrs. Edward Tyrrell Leith; Yasavant Vasudev Athalye; Kharsetji Rastamji Cama; J. Gerson daCunha; Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh; K. R. Kirtikar; Hardevram Nanabhai Vakil; Bala Mangesh Wagle; Rienzi G. Walton; T. S. Weir;

G. Waters; and Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik." (5) "That the Meeting be adjourned for the election of the other Officers and Ordinary Members of the Council."

The PRESIDENT returned thanks for his election.

Thanks were voted to H. M. Phipson for having given the use of his rooms to the Society for that Meeting. The Meeting was then adjourned until Monday, the 19th of April.

ADJOURNED ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING held on Monday, the 19th of April, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M. K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

H. A. Acworth, Bo.C.S.; Afsur Jung Bahadur; Ardesir Framji, B.A.; Surgeon-Major J. Arnott, M.D.; Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, C.I.E.; Geo. Bennett; W. J. Best; Shivram Vithal Bhandarkar, B.A., LL.B.; H. Bromley; R. S. Brown; H. C. Burder; Navroji Rustonji Cama; R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A.; John Campbell; J. McLeod Campbell, Bo.C.S.; H. R. Charles, M.D., C.M., L.M.; Darasha Ratanji Chichgar; Pickering Clark; C. P. Cooper; A. T. Crawford, Bo.C.S.; C. E. G. Crawford, Bo C.S.; J. T. deCunha, L.M & S.; D. G. Dalgado, M.D., L.R.C.S.; A. J. C. Dunlop; E W. Kern; W. S. Forman, Bo.C.S.; L R. W. Forrest; Capt. J. S. Frith, R.A.; J. Temperley Gray, M.D.; G. H. R. Hart; W. E. Hart, B.A.; F. S. Hore; J. Hutton; J. Janni; Jamsetji Kharsetji Jamsetji; James Jardine, M.A.; Jehangir Manekji Khar-

setji; W. H. Jervis, A.R.I.B.A.; Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, Bart., C.S.I.; Dinsha Pestonji Kanga, M.A., LL.B.; Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.; G. A. Kittredge; Brig. Surgeon E. H. R. Langley, M.R.C.S.; Phirozsha Mehervanji Mehta, M.A.; Hon. Maxwell Melvill, Bo. C.S.; Capt. J. S. Minter, R.A.; Capt. Henry Morland, F.R.G.S.; W. B. Mulock, Bo.C.S.; Hon. Mr. Justice Nanabhai Haridas, LL.B.; Temulji Bhikaji Nariman, L.M.; Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar; E. F. Nicholson; Geo. Nundy, B.A., LL.D.; A. K. Oliver; Geo. E. Ormiston, M.I.C.E.; F. D. Parker; H. J. Parsons, Bo.C.S.; Bapuji Sorabji Patel; Sorabji Framji Patel; P. Peterson, B.A., M.A., D.Sc.; H. E. Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, LL.D., C.I.E., F.R.G.S.; J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.S.I., B.C.S.; Hon. Mr. Justice Scott, M.A., M.R.A.S.; Basil Scott, M.A.; Kharsetji Maneckji Sethna; Rastamji Dhanjibhai Sethna, B.A., LL.B.; F. Shearme; H. F. Silcock, Bo.C.S.; J. M. Sleater, M.I.C.E.; Hon. Mr. Justice Straight; Sitaram Vishnu Sukhthanker, L.C.E.; T. J. Symonds, F.L.S., A.V.D.; Jamsetji N. Tata; Hon. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.; James Tod; Allan F. Turner; R. H. Vincent; Navroji Manekji Wadia; Col. E. S. Walcott, C.B.; E. M. Walton; Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., Bo.C.S.; Hon. Mr. Justice West, M.A., LL.D.; Bo.C.S., F.R.G.S.; G. C. Whitworth, Bo.C.S.; H. R. H. Wilkinson; Lt.-Col. W. H. Wilson; W. Wordsworth, M.A.

The following were elected Honorary Members:—

Dr. Adolf Bastian, Berlin; Prof. W. H. Flower, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.S., F.L.S., P.Z.S., V.P.A.I.; Prof. Huxley, P.R.S.; Francis Galton, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., P.A.I.; Prof. Count Angelo de Gubernatis, Florence; Prof. Paulo Mantegazza, Florence; Dr. Paul Topinard, Paris; Edward B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S., V.P.A.I.; Rudolf Virchow, Dr. Med., Dr. Jur., Berlin.

The following Members were declared to have been elected Office-bearers and Ordinary Members of the Council for the ensuing year:—

President: Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., M.A.I.

Vice-Presidents: Hon. Mr. Justice Scott, M.A., M.R.A.S.; Hon. Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, C.S.I., Hon. M.R.A.S.

Council: H. A. Acworth, Bo.C.S.; Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, M.R.A.S.; J. Gerson da Cunha, K.C.I., K.G.G., M.R.C.S.; Moreshvar G. Desmukh, B.A., B.Sc., M.D.; Surgeon-Major W. Dymock, B.A., M.R.C.S.; George W. Forrest, M.A.; Hon. Mr. Justice Jardine, Bo.C.S.; Surgeon K. R. Kirtikar, M.R.A.S., L.R.C.P.; Rev. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D.; Captain Gerald W. Martin, F.R.G.S.; Hardevram Nanabhai Vakil; Bala Mangesh Wagle, M.A., LL.B.; Rienzi G. Walton, C.E., M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S.; Surgeon-Major G. Waters, L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; Surgeon-Major T. S. Weir; Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.

Hon. Secretaries: D. MacDonald, M.D., B.Sc., C.M.; Yasavant Vasudev Athalye, M.A., LL.B.; O. S. Pedraza.

Hon. Treasurer: Captain P. W. Walshe.

Curator of the Museum: H. M. Phipson.

Librarian: Basil Scott, M.A.

Resolutions were passed, providing for the issue of a Prospectus and the framing of Rules.

Ordinary General Meeting, held on Wednesday, the 23rd of June, 1886.

Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., *President*, in the chair.

The minutes of the Meetings, held respectively on the 7th and 19th of April 1886, were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

J. A. Baines, Bo.C.S.; A. M. Butterworth, M.C.S.; H. W. Barrow; Khirode Chandra Roy Chaudhuri, M.A.; R. Cooper; Prof. D. Duncan, M.A., D.Sc., M.A.I.; E. J. Ebden, B.A., Bo. C.S.; F. A. H. Elliot, C.I.E., Bo.C.S.; Major-General R. R. Gillespie, C.B.; H. W. Gostling; Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., M.A.I.; R. D. Hare; Major Ian Hamilton; F. J. Kingsley; F. S. P. Lely, Bo.C.S.; H. Littledale, B.A.; Hon. Sir A. C. Lyall, K.C.B., C.I.E., B.C.S.; E. Miller; Dewan Bahadur N. Nagunashdor; E. C. Ozanne, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.C.; H. W. de B. Prescott; G. B. Reid, Bo.C.S.; Major D. Robertson, M.S.C.; Surgeon-Major W. Taylor; R. Trevithick, C.E.; R. Udny, M.A., B.C.S.; H. H. Vishwanath Sing Bahadur, Raja of Chatarpur; D. Mackenzie Wallace, M.A.; and W. Woodward, Bo.C.S.

The following donations were announced, and thanks voted to the respective donors:—

To the Museum.

From the Conservator of Forests, Poona.—Hand plough used for *kumri* cultivation in the Dangs, Gujarat.

—— Musical instrument made of bamboo.

—— Fish-trap made of bamboo.

From Harold R. King.—Costume worn by the Nagas, trimmed with hair and shells.

From the President.—A set of anthropometrical instruments by Molteni of Paris.

—— A Bidri-work candlestick from Hyderabad, Deccan.

—— A copper lota with spout from Lucknow.

—— A box of Sawantwari lacquer-work, containing toys.

—— An ancient cylindrical burial-urn from Bussorah.

—— Three ancient Hindu brass idols from the Deccan.

—— Two photographs of the interior and exterior of the Tower of Silence at Kalyan.

—— Two ancient ossuary vases containing human bones from Bussorah.

—— Photograph of a Hindu religious mendicant belonging to the sect of Aghoris, from Allahabad.

—— Ancient brick, bearing cuneiform inscription, from Bussorah.

From H. M. Phipson.—Five necklaces made of grass worn by the Thakur women of Matheran.

—— Koyata and belt, worn by the Thakurs of Matheran.

—— Carved silver box, worn round the neck by snake-charmers.

—— Small drum and gourd musical instrument, used by snake-charmers.

From E. M. Walton.—Plaster cast of the jaws and teeth of the Hairy Man of Burma.

To the Library.

From the President.—"Le Istorie dell' Indie Orientali," di Gio. Pietro Maffei.

—— "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Volker," von Dr. Hermann H. Ploss.

—— "Gazetteer of Sind," by A. W. Hughes.

—— "Héliogabale, ou Esquisse morale de la dissolution Romaine sous les Empereurs."

—— "Sketches relating to the history, religion, learning and manners of the Hindus."

From the Author.—"Vegetable Materia Medica of Western India," by W. Dymock, B.A.

From Captain Gerald W. Martin.—"Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal," by Colonel Dalton.

The President informed the Meeting that numerous letters had been received from Europe and different parts of India, expressing cordial sympathy with the Society, and congratulations with regard to its establishment. He also stated that a Sub-committee, consisting of Members belonging to the medical profession, had examined the Hairy Man of Burma during his recent stay in Bombay, and had furnished a Report upon the subject.

The following Report was then read:—

REPORT *on the* HAIRY MAN OF BURMA, *by the* SUB-COMMITTEE.

WE have the honour to submit the result of an inspection made by us, on the 18th April 1886, of the Hairy Man of Burma. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining his consent. As his objections were only overcome on the eve of his departure for Europe, our examination was unfortunately very hurried and incomplete. Through the arrangements made with those in charge of him, we were enabled to observe his condition in the nude state. His countenance had a benign look, indicating the humane and gentle disposition which he is said, by those who know him, to possess. He is about 29 years of age and of an average height, viz., 5 feet 4⅞ inch. The colour of the skin is pale-brown; the irides are also brown. His face is covered with long, soft, silk-like hair, which is light brown generally, except near the ears, where the colour merges into a yellowish tint. The ears are entirely covered with hair, and, from within the external meatus, hair was growing thickly, the filaments tending to lock together. Portions of the hair on the face were 12 inches in length. Portions of the body, arms and legs were covered with hair of a lighter colour and finer texture than that observed on the face. The hair measured 3½ inches in length on the chest, and extended down the back in a thick layer. We observed a remarkable feature in the distribution of the hirsuteness, viz., the scanty quantity of hair on the hands, feet and genital organs. The Hairy Man stated that, in the case of the hands and feet, this was due to friction. We also observed that the wavy line of hair between the umbilicus and pubes was absent. The genital organs were not abnormally developed. The physical shape and formation of the Hairy Man, except with regard to the teeth, appeared to be normal. Although he would not permit an examination of his mouth, Mr. E. M. Walton, Dental Surgeon, succeeded in obtaining a cast of the upper

and lower jaws. The cast shows that there are only four teeth in the upper jaw, viz., two incisors and two canines, and six in the lower jaw, viz., four incisors and two canines.

The following are the only measurements that we had time to take:—

Head.—max. ant. post. diam.	$7\frac{1}{4}$	inch.
Do. max. trans.	6	„
Chest.—circumference over nipple ...	31	„
From tip of acromion to ground	$55\frac{1}{2}$	„
Upper extremity.—length	$29\frac{7}{8}$	„
Upper arm	$13\frac{1}{2}$	„
Forearm to wrist	$10\frac{6}{8}$	„
Circumference of arm over deltoid ...	$12\frac{6}{8}$	„
Do. do. biceps ...	$8\frac{5}{8}$	„
Do. round forearm	$8\frac{5}{8}$	„
Do. do. wrist	$6\frac{3}{8}$	„
Do. above do.	$6\frac{5}{8}$	„
Lower extremity.—length	$35\frac{1}{2}$	„
Thigh	$17\frac{1}{2}$	„
Leg	18	„
Circumference of thigh	16	„
Do. calf	$12\frac{2}{8}$	„
Length of foot.............................	$9\frac{6}{8}$	„
Circumference of instep.................	$9\frac{1}{8}$	„
Ball of toe	$3\frac{1}{2}$	„

A plaster-cast of the jaws and teeth of the Hairy Man, taken by E. M. Walton, and a photograph of the Hairy Family, by Bourne and Shepherd, were handed round for inspection.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. E. M. WALTON *said, that there appeared to be but* little difference between the jaws of the Hairy Man and those of an ordinary individual, whose teeth had been extracted twelve months previously.

The PRESIDENT remarked, that the family, to which the Hairy Man of Burma belonged, had been described by Crawford in his "Embassy to the Court of Ava." It was there stated that children had been produced for three generations with hairy

mantle." And Saul perceived that it was Samuel." He then enquires the reason of his want of success against the Philistines. From this story, it is clear that Saul does not himself see the spirit, but has its appearance described to him by the woman. The boy employed in necromancy appears to be under a kind of mesmeric influence, and is usually stupid and dull for some hours after the performance. According to the *Mantra Sástra*, there are six kinds of *mantra*, viz.:—*márana* (to take away life); *mohana* (to produce illusions); *stambhana* (to stop motion); *ákarshana* (to call or make present); *vashíkarana* (to enthrall); *uchchátan* (to cause injury short of death).

My object in bringing forward this Note is to invite information on the subject of divination, or *mantra*, as practised in India at the present time.

The following paper was then read by the author.

On Divination *by* Házirát *among the* Indian Musulmáns,

By Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., President.

Divination, or Soothsaying, may be shortly defined as the science of imparting knowledge, derived from a supernatural source, with regard to past, present and future events. It has been practised among all races from the earliest recorded times, and has consequently played a most important part in the history of religion. Its vehicle, with which it has sometimes been erroneously confounded, is magic. By way of distinction, it has been said that, whereas divination is a passive science, which brings divine thought within the reach of the human intellect, magic is an active science, which places the supernatural powers at the service of the human will. According to the Stoics, divination is a theoretical and exegetical science of signs given to men by the gods, and falls into two classes, viz., spontaneous or natural, and inductive or artificial. The

former consists in a direct communication of the soul with the divinity during sleep, or in a state of enthusiasm; the latter is an inductive operation, which supplies the want of a direct knowledge of cause and effect by the aid of certain accessory relations, based on a general sympathy among apparently heterogeneous facts.[1] The vast field, which divination covers, is evident from the fact that it consists of more than one hundred different kinds, corresponding with the various methods of procedure employed. On the present occasion, I desire to confine my remarks to one special kind of divination, to be found among the Indian Musulmáns under the designation of *Háziráte Jinn* (popularly called *Házirát Jinn*, or simply *Házirát*), *i.e.*, "Raising the Jinn." The rite, in its main features, is probably one of great antiquity. It must have been introduced into India by the Arabs, who, again, doubtless derived it from those masters of thaumaturgy, the Chaldæans.[2] 2. According to Arabic authorities, there are two kinds of magic, viz., supernatural (*ruháni*) and natural (*simyó*). The former is divided into white and black magic, *i.e.*, divine (*rahmáni*) and satanic (*shaitáni* or *sehr*). The rite of *Házirát* belongs to a class of magic known as *darb-ul-mandal*, which relies on the agency of the Jinns.[3] These Jinns constitute an order of supernatural beings, created of fire before Adam, who are of both sexes, and hold an intermediate position between angels and men, but are inferior to both. They are neither distinctively good, like angels, nor distinctively wicked, like demons; but are sometimes good and sometimes wicked, like men.[4] I am told that the magicians, who practise *Házirát*, assert that it appertains to divine magic. This, however, appears to depend upon the nature both of the object of the rite and of the agency

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[1] Bouché-Leclercq, *Divination dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1879, Vol. I., pp. 13, 62 f.

[2] See Lenormant, *Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874, p. 70.

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1860, pp. 263 f.

[4] Hammer-Purgstall, *Geisterlehre der Moslimen*, Wien, 1852, pp 4, 5, 14; Lane, *op. cit.* p. 222.

employed. If these be good, the aid of good Jinns is invoked; if bad, that of wicked Jinns. In the former case, the rite will be divine; in the latter, satanic.[5]

I have endeavoured to witness a performance of *Házirát*, but hitherto without success. The reason assigned for excluding me is, that the magician regards the rite as one of a specially sacred and solemn character, to which none but those, who are believers in it, ought to be admitted. I am consequently obliged to content myself with laying before the Society facts regarding it, which I have obtained at second-hand from Musulmáns of my acquaintance. The following is a description of it as practised in Western and Southern India. When a Musulmán is desirous of seeking information from the spirit-world respecting a certain matter, wherein he is deeply interested, he consults a fakir, or other co-religionist, who is skilled in *Házirát*. The magician causes his client to bring him three or four boys, each of whom must be under the age of puberty, pure in heart and deed, a member of an orthodox and respectable family, and a *pá'il* (popularly called *pá'ilu* in Bombay), *i.e.*, one born by feet-presentation. The boy must also have previously undergone outward purification by bathing and donning clean garments. From this batch of boys, the magician proceeds to select one, for the purpose of acting as the channel of communication between him and the King of the Jinns, who is supposed to be consulted regarding the subject-matter of the enquiry. The ceremony commences by the magician and the boy seating themselves opposite one another. The magician then places on his right an *ágdán* (a small vessel containing live charcoal), on his left a bunch of *chambelí* (*jasminum grandiflorum*) and *mogará* (*jasminum sambac*); and in front, between himself and the boy, a number of lighted incense-sticks fixed in a holder. At the same time, he invokes the presence of the King of the Jinns by reciting a certain magical formula. He next proceeds to pour a few drops of *atr* (essence),

[5] Rehatsek, *Magic*, J. Bo. Branch, R. A. S., Vol. XIV., pp. 199 ff.

extracted from *chambeli* or *mogará* flowers, on the palm of his right hand. With this, he gently strokes the arms, hands and chest of the boy, and sprinkles *lobán* (frankincense) upon the live charcoal. During all this time, he continues to recite his incantations. *Kájal* (a mixture of oil and lamp-black) is now smeared on the right thumb-nail of the boy, or is spread on *pán* (betel-leaf), which has been laid on the palm of his right hand. He is afterwards bidden to gaze intently on the *kájal*, and to describe any images that may be mirrored in it. The magician resumes his magical spells, blows thrice with his breath upon the boy, and asks him whether he sees anything. If the boy is a good "subject," he describes certain apparitions, which are successively conjured up on the *kájal*. If, on the contrary, he fails to discern anything, another boy is summoned by the magician to take his place, and the ceremony is then recommenced. In successful cases, the descriptions given by the boy are said to be gradually elicited, as each fresh apparition appears, in the form of replies to questions put to him by the magician, who, from time to time, burns incense and utters his incantations as before. The following is, in substance, the dialogue which, I am informed, always takes place between them.

Q. Tell me whether you can see anything.

A. I see a *maidán* (plain).

Q. What next?

A. Now a man appears, who sweeps the ground.

Q. Do you see anything more?

A. The man is joined by another, who waters the ground from a *mashk* (water-skin).

Q. What else do you see?

A. A number of *hammáls* (porters) now approach with a carpet, which they proceed to lay down.

Q. What more?

A. Next I see attendants bearing a throne, which they place upon the carpet.

Q. Can you see anything else?

A. The *hammáls* and attendants are succeeded by a retinue, and by *chobdárs* (staff-bearers), who enter in procession.

Q. What next do you see?

A. Finally, a king makes his appearance. He seats himself upon the throne, and enquires why he has been thus disturbed.

This last apparition is said to be the King of the Jinns, who is now supposed to answer various questions addressed to him by the magician, through the boy, with respect to the particular point upon which information is sought by the client.

A recent authority, in treating of *Házirát* as practised in the Panjáb, states that it is but rarely met with at the present day, although common enough among both Musulmáns and Hindus thirty years ago. He says, that it was employed to exorcise ghosts, and was conducted as follows. A perfectly innocent child was made to stare at a paper covered with figures and squares, which he held in front of a lamp, while the exorcist repeated certain charms. After a time, the child would exclaim:—"I see a sweeper clearing up the court of the King of the Jinns, and the *bhishtís* (water-carriers) watering it, and the servants spreading the carpets. And now come the crowd, and the courtiers take their seats, and the king comes into court and sends for the ghost that is tormenting So-and-so." A conversation is said to have thereupon ensued between the boy and the exorcist, which resulted in directions being given to place offerings of food in certain specified spots in the jungle.[6] The author has since informed me, that, in cases where Hindus resort to *Házirát*, the magician and the boy, as would naturally be expected, are invariably Musulmáns.

The rite was also described, under the name of *Surma Anjan*, by Jaffer Shurreef, an inhabitant of the Deccan, more than fifty

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[6] Maya Das, *Házirát Exorcism*, Panjáb Notes and Queries, Vol. II., note 1099.

years ago. According to him, the "subject" was desired to stare at *surma anjan* (antimony ointment), which had been applied to the palm of his hand. After doing so for about an hour, he spoke to the following effect:—"First, I observed the *Farásh* (sweeper) coming; he swept the ground and departed. Then came the water-carrier, sprinkled water on the floor and went away. The *Farásh* re-appeared and spread the carpet. Next came a whole army of genii, demons, fairies, &c.; to whom succeeded their commander, who was seated on a throne." This last-named personage was then informed of the affair regarding which he had been summoned, and never failed to grant what was asked of him. The author asserts, that, in *Surma Anjan*, any one was eligible as a "subject." For rites, on the other hand, in which other kinds of *anjan* were employed, the person selected required to be a first-born child of either sex, with cat's eyes; a *pá'il*; and one who neither bore a large scar from a burn, nor had been bitten by a dog. The term *Házirát* is applied by Jaffer Shurreef to a rite of a somewhat different kind, which he describes as follows. The magician commenced by applying sandal-wood paste to a new and well-washed earthen vessel, round the neck of which he afterwards tied wreaths of flowers. He next laid out fruits and sweetmeats, and burned benjamin-pastiles. The vessel was then covered with a lid, and the latter was converted into a lamp, consisting of a charm-wick placed in castor-oil. He now lit the wick, and repeated an Arabic charm. After this, a boy or girl, who had been previously bathed and dressed in clean clothes, was required to gaze at the flame of the lamp, and to relate what he or she might see. The writer adds, that everything was then described by the child respecting property stolen, diseases, &c., as previously detailed by him under the head of *Anjan*; but whether spirit-apparitions are intended to be here included, it is impossible to say. In some cases, we are told, the child was made to look into a mirror, at the back of which was pasted a charm

magic squares and numerals; or at a plate, inscribed with a similar charm, and then filled with water.[7]

Another account of *Házirát* is given by Lane, as having been witnessed by him at Cairo. On that occasion, a boy, eight or nine years of age, was selected by Lane himself from a number of boys in the street, who were returning from work. As regards the preliminary details, it is sufficient to state that frankincense and coriander-seed were burnt by the magician on live charcoal in a chafing-dish, and that the boy was required to gaze steadfastly at a pool of ink, poured into the centre of a magic square, which had been previously drawn with a reed-pen upon the palm of his right hand. The magician then burnt pieces of paper inscribed with invocations, and began an indistinct muttering, which he repeated, from time to time, during the whole of the performance. He next placed inside the front of the boy's cap a paper, on which was written a verse of the Korán, and asked the boy whether he saw anything in the ink. The latter replied:—"I see a man sweeping the ground." The boy was afterwards told to inform the magician when the man had finished sweeping. When the boy had done this, the magician desired him to order a flag to be brought. The latter did so, and said:—"He has brought a flag." The magician next asked the colour of the flag, and the boy answered:—"Red." Six other flags were afterwards called for in succession by the magician, and the same were stated by the boy to have been duly brought. As each flag appeared, its colour was asked, and described by the boy. The magician, in like manner, ordered the Sultan's tent to be brought and pitched; the soldiers to come and pitch their camp around it, and to be drawn up in ranks; a bull to be brought, killed and cut up, and its flesh to be cooked and eaten by the soldiers; the Sultan to be called and offered coffee;

[7] Jaffer Shurreeff, *Quanoon-ool-Islám*, translated by Herklots, London, 1832, pp. 378 ff.

and, lastly, the court to be formed. As each of these directions was given, the boy declared that he saw it carried out.[8]

It will be seen that the foregoing descriptions of *Házirát* differ from each other in certain particulars, chief of which are the mode in which the boy's replies are elicited, and the nature of the object upon which he is required to fix his gaze. The former will be dealt with further on; to the latter I shall now refer. The mode of divination by the nail was known to the early Greeks under the name of onychomancy, It is said to have consisted in observing the figures spontaneously formed by lamp-black mixed with oil on the nail of a child.[9] This theory, however, is obviously erroneous. The same mode of divination was also practised in mediæval Europe by smearing the nail of an uncorrupted boy with a mixture of soot and oil, or of wax and oil, or with suet. Certain magical charms were then muttered by the magician, who made the boy hold his finger against the sun-light and look fixedly at his nail. In a short while, the boy is said to have seen various images appear upon it.[10] From the above-mentioned accounts of *Házirát*, we gather that the boy's gaze may be directed to other objects besides his nail. The real fact is, that it does not matter what the precise object may be, provided that it presents a bright appearance. The reason of this, I shall endeavour to explain hereafter. For the present, it is sufficient to point out, that *Házirát* is based upon the principle of the magic mirror. We find the same idea underlying various other forms of divination, *e.g.*, lecanomancy, hydromancy, catoptromancy, crystallomancy and pyromancy. All of these date back to a remote antiquity. By the first method, the seer is required to gaze into a metal cup or basin, filled with water, wine or oil; by the second,

[8] Lane, *op. cit*, pp. 269 ff.

[9] Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* Vol. I., p. 185

[10] See Meyer, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, Basel, 1884, pp. 233 f; Colin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Infernal*, Bruxelles, 1848, p. 387.

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[8] Lane, [illegible]

[9] [illegible]

[10] [illegible]

[illegible]

into a sacred pool or fountain; by the third, into a metal or glass mirror; by the fourth, into a crystal; and by the last, into fire or flame. Divining cups were known to the Hebrews, Persians, Greeks and Romans in very ancient times.[11] Those of Joseph in Genesis, and Jemshid in the Sháhnámah, may be referred to as familiar examples. That leçanomancy existed among the Chaldæans and Babylonians, appears extremely probable from the repeated references met with in their records to certain magic cups, which were highly prized as conferring great powers on their possessors.[12] The Egyptians, also, were doubtless familiar with the rite.[13] We find it later in Europe during the Middle Ages;[14] and it still obtains to this day among the Arabs.[15] Pausanias describes the practice of hydromancy at the oracle of Apollo Thyrxeos near the coast of Lycia,[16] and of catoptromancy at that of Demeter at Patræ. In the latter instance, a mirror is said to have been suspended over a fountain by a cord so as to touch the surface of the water.[17] As regards crystallomancy, there is some ground for the conjecture that the *urim* and *thummim*, which the Jewish High Priest consulted in order to obtain a divine revelation, were divining-crystals into which he gazed.[18] In the Middle Ages, both the mirror

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[11] Lenormant, *Divination chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1875, pp. 78 ff.; Maury, *Religions de la Grèce Antique*, Paris, 1857, Vol. II., p. 446; Colin de Plancy, *op. cit.*, pp. 279, 311.

[12] Lenormant, *Divination*, pp. 79 f.

[13] Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen der alten Hebraër*, Regensburg 1877, p. 71; Herodotus, *History*, translated by Rawlinson, London, 1875, Vol. II., p. 135, note.

[14] Meyer, *op. cit.*, p.281.

[15] Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, Mainz, 1821, Vol. I, pp. 379 ff.

[16] Bk. VII., c. 21, § 13. See Maury, *op. cit.* Vol. II., p. 477, note; Boucher-Leclercq, *op. cit.* Vol. III., p. 257.

[17] Bk. VII., c. 21. § 12. See Maury, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 477; Boucher-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 255.

[18] See Lenormant, *Divination*, pp. 81 ff; Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, London, 1863, Vol. III., p. 1604 ff.

and the crystal were the chief means employed by magicians for the purpose of obtaining an insight into hidden things.[19] Even at the present day, the magic mirror continues to occupy a prominent place in the popular superstitions of Europe.[20] Pyromancy has survived in India down to modern times; for the same mode of divination has been described, as we have already seen, by Jaffer Shurreef in his account of *Házirát*.

No one can fail to be struck by the singular resemblance which *Házirát* bears to a certain phase of modern spiritualism. The divining faculty of the *pá'il* is, in fact, precisely the same as the clairvoyance of the "medium." The differences between the two performances are to be found in the source of the alleged revelations and in the procedure adopted for obtaining them. In *Házirát*, they are said to be due to supernatural beings; in clairvoyant spiritualism, either to departed spirits or to the operation of a so-called "psychic force" residing in the "medium." I shall, however, leave these revelations out of consideration, for not only are the theories regarding their source devoid of all scientific value, but the accounts, also, given of their nature, are unsupported by reliable evidence. When we turn to the modes of procedure, we stand upon firmer ground. These modes have, I believe, an important effect upon the psychological condition of the "subject." The clairvoyant, when simulation is not resorted to for the purpose of deception, is in an abnormal, trance-like state, known as hypnotism, mesmerism, animal magnetism, electro-biology or Braidism, which is induced by certain artificial means. It is akin to the condition observable in sleep; for, in both, the higher mental operations of reason, reflection, judgment and will are

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[19] See Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 f.; Schindler, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1858, p. 253.

[20] See Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1869, pp 229 ff, 234 f.; Colin de Plancy, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

in complete abeyance.[21] The chief distinction between them lies in the fact that, of those functions which are quiescent during sleep, only some remain so in the hypnotic condition. In the latter, for example, the bodily motions are preserved intact; the senses are more easily excited by external impressions; and the impressions themselves more closely resemble the sensory perceptions of the waking state.[22] In these respects, hypnotism bears a strong analogy to somnambulism. For that reason, where the trance-like state is profound, as in the latter, it has been called "artificial somnambulism." In the less pronounced stage, on the other hand, where it approaches most nearly to the state of reverie, the term "artificial reverie" has been employed. Either of these stages may be induced by one or other of the following methods. The first, known generally as electro-biology, consists in the operator making the "subject" concentrate his gaze fixedly, for some minutes, without intermission, on a bright object held slightly above his eyes, and close enough to cause them discomfort from the strain. The particular stage of hypnotism, so induced, will depend entirely on the greater or lesser intensity of the gaze. By another method, familiar to us as mesmerism, the operator waves his hand slowly before the eyes of the "subject," or gently strokes his limbs and body, or blows upon him with the breath. In all these processes, the effects produced are due to a uniform excitation of the sensory nerves, and to a fixity of the attention. The same results may, indeed, be produced by any monotonous sound, *e.g.*, the ticking of a clock. Besides these, there are also certain psychical conditions which should not be overlooked, viz., the expectation that an extraordinary event is about to take place; a firm belief in the efficacy of the means employed to bring it about; and, lastly, a predisposition to the hypnotic state, arising from

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[21] Maudsley, *Pathology of Mind*, London, 1879, pp. 51 f.; Sully, *Illusions*, London, 1881, p. 186

[22] Wundt, *Physiologische Psychologie*, Leipzig, Vol. II. p. 371.

a neurotic temperament, and increased by repetitions of the induction. While under hypnotic influence, the "subject" is bereft of all will-power. He is consequently quite unable either to exercise the reasoning faculties, or to execute any muscular movements, save when the same are put in motion automatically by external suggestions. In short, his thoughts, words, feelings and acts are entirely dependent upon the volition of the operator.[23]

In *Házirát,* there seems to be good ground for believing that the boy, if we assume his *bona fides,* has been placed in a state of artificial reverie. This may, I think, be inferred from the fact that the magician first makes him fix his gaze steadily on the spot of *kájal,* or other shining object held before him, and then proceeds to gently stroke his body, and to blow upon him with the breath. These, it will be remembered, are the very methods employed in electro-biology and mesmerism.[24] It is also highly probable that material aid is afforded by the penetrating odours of the frankincense, *atr* and flowers, owing to their potent action on the nervous system. Dread of the demoniacal power invoked; expectation of, and implicit belief in the miraculous phenomena about to be witnessed; and awe of the mysterious and solemn rite performed, would also doubtless co-operate largely in producing the same result. To these important factors must be added the excitable temperament of the "subject." This characteristic of children has been recognized in the popular belief of Europe that they are specially endowed with the magic faculty.[25] The reason for selecting a *pá'il* is not so obvious. This, however, is explainable by the fact that such an one is believed to be specially lucky in all his under-

[23] Carpenter, *Mental Physiology,* London, 1879, p. 553; Wundt, *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 371; Maudsley, *op cit*, p. 59.

[24] See Maury, *La Magie et l' Astrologie,* Paris, 1877, pp. 432 ff; Perty, *Die mystischen Erscheinungen der menschlichen Natur,* Leipzig, &c. 1872, Vol. II., pp 243 ff.

[25] See Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

takings, and, furthermore, to be highly susceptible to magical influences. The former belief rests, I imagine, on the presumption that one, who has escaped the grave peril attendant on so abnormal a birth, will experience similar good fortune in every other circumstance of life; the latter is probably attributable to the idea that his marvellous escape was due to the aid of certain supernatural beings, to whom he stands in a mysterious and intimate relation. As far as I am aware, this superstition regarding the *pá'il* is confined to India; but the same conception may be traced in the well-known myth, common to the Aryan races of Europe and Asia, of the god or hero "unborn," in the sense of having been ushered into the world by means of the *sectio cæsaria.* As examples, it is sufficient to refer to Dionysos, Asklepios, and Lychas among the Greeks; Śákya Muni, the founder of the Buddhist faith; Tristrem of Anglo-Norman romance; Shakespeare's Macduff; and the hero of Russian legend, Dobrynya Nikititsh.[26] In Germany, also, there still exists a belief among the ignorant peasantry that the "unborn" are lucky children; and that the finger cut off the corpse of such an one, will, when used as a candle by a thief, save him from detection during a robbery.[27] The *pá'il* is also employed by magicians to assist them in the search for hidden treasure. In such cases, his eyes are anointed with *kájal* for the purpose of endowing him with supernatural vision. *Kájal* is also applied to the eyes, or to the forehead or left sole as a means of averting the evil eye (*nazar*).[28] Notwithstanding his gift of good-luck, the *pá'il* is believed to be especially liable to be struck by lightning; and his parents, therefore, are always careful to keep him indoors during a thunderstorm.

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[26] See Ploss, *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1885, Vol. II., pp. 407 f.; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Berlin, 1874, Vol. I., p. 322.

[27] Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[28] See Cockburn, *Nazar*, Panjáb Notes and Queries, Vol. I., notes 355, 356, 445.

We have next to deal with the curious fact that the description, given by the boy, of the preparations made for the reception of the King of the Jinns, is always of the same character. This is, of course, explainable on the hypothesis that he has been previously tutored as to what he should say. The circumstance, however, that the selection of the candidates is left entirely to the client, would, at first sight, seem to preclude the possibility of collusion. Moreover, as the boy must be a *pá'il*, special search is necessary in order to find such an one. This is rendered difficult, owing to the unwillingness of his *parents to give the required information, as they fear lest* their son might be kidnapped for magical purposes. Enquiries have consequently to be made of the midwives in the town or village. It is obvious, however, that the same source of information is equally open to the magician; and, as neither *pá'ils* nor midwives are numerous, he can easily have become previously acquainted with every *pá'il* in the place. Even then, it does not necessarily follow that the *pá'il* would be actually tutored; but the magician would thereby, at least, be afforded the opportunity of imparting casually to the boy the details required to be described. The same information might also be easily gleaned by a boy, who, after being rejected a wanting in divining power, remains in the room during the subsequent performance of the rite. There is also the possibility of his being already familiar with the details from common report. But there remains yet another solution. My informants have all emphatically repudiated the suggestion that the *pá'il* was asked leading questions. Experience, however, teaches us, that comparatively few individuals are accurate observers of fact. In addition to the want of the habit of observation, we also find, among the great majority of mankind, a proneness to believe everything they wish to believe, and to exaggerate unconsciously everything that savours of the marvellous. This idiosyncracy is most pronounced in the uneducated and superstitious, when witnesses of phenomena which they

firmly believe to be supernatural. As my informants belong to this class, I am inclined to believe that they were self-deceived with regard to the circumstances, under which the *pá'il* gave his descriptions of the apparitions; and that the same were, in reality, elicited by means of leading questions, dexterously put to him by the magician.[29] This view is strengthened by the fact that the same method was employed at the performance in Cairo. In Lane's account, the first question asked by the magician has not, it is true, been recorded in a leading form; but this is a palpable inaccuracy.

There now remains only one more point to be considered, viz., the assertion of the *pá'il* that he actually saw the images he described. If there were no collusion, he would have no object in stating what he knew to be false. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed that he honestly believed in the reality of those images. There is, I submit, no difficulty in the way of accepting this view. "Mediums" are always persons of a highly nervous or neurotic constitution;[30] and such, it is well established, are peculiarly subject to hallucinations.[31] The Shamans of Northern Asia accordingly select as disciples children who exhibit marked excitability or are subject to fits.[32] In addition, hallucinations are easily produced by certain drugs. For this purpose, from the earliest times, recourse was had to natural exhalations of carbonic acid gas, or to fumigation with *datura stramonium*, *hyoscyamus*, *opium* or *belladona*.[33] This fact leads one to suspect that such drugs may also be employed in *Házirát*. Be that as it may, it

[29] See Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 275, note.

[30] Maudsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53; Wundt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 371 ff.

[31] Krafft-Ebing, *Psychiatrie*, Stuttgart, 1879, Vol. I., p. 93.

[32] See Klemm, *Culturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1844, Vol. III, p. 105; Bastian, *Geographische und ethnologische Bilder*, Jena, 1873, p. 402.

[33] Krafft-Ebing. *loc. cit.*, p. 93; Brierre de Boismont, *Hallucinations*, Paris, 1852, p. 453; Maury, *Religions*, Vol., II. pp. 478, 494, note; Salverte, *Sciences Occultes*, Paris, 1858, pp. 279 ff; Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, Mainz, 1823, Vol. IV. pp. 66 ff.

seems clear that, if the boy was in an hypnotic condition, his imagination would naturally respond to the suggestions conveyed by the leading questions of the magician, and evolve subjective images, which he would regard as objective.

Our knowledge of the manifold forms of divination practised in India is, as yet, unfortunately extremely imperfect. In view of the great scientific importance of the subject, I venture to express the hope that it may soon receive an adequate treatment at the hands of native members of our Society.

Ordinary General Meeting held on Wednesday, the 28th of July, 1886.

Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

Col. J. G. Bell, M.S.C.; Col. G. F. Beville, Bo.S.C.; Col. H. Bloomfield, B.S.C.; Sir Edward Bradford, K.C.S.I.; F. L. Charles, Bo.C.S.; A. W. Crawley-Boevey, Bo.C.S.; M. Longworth Dames, M.R.A.S., B.C.S.; J. R. Duxbury; D. E. Gostling, F.R.I.B.A.; Lt.-Col. E. J. Gunthorpe, M.S.C.; H. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad, G.C.S.I.; Denzil C.J. Ibbetson, B.C.S.; W. Irvine, B.C.S.; H. E., K. Sheshadri Iyer; Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamaspasana, M.A. Ph.D.; Pursl[illegible]

Joshi; John Jack, M.A.; M. W. Kerin; L. W. King, B.C.S.; C. Little, M.D.; W.R.M. Macdonald; C. Macnaghten, M.A.; Behramji M. Malabari; Capt. M. J. Meade, B.S.C.; W. F. Melvin; Jivanji Jamsetji Modi, B.A.; J. J. Moran, M.D.; Motaman Jung Bahadur; Munshi Farid-ud-din; H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, G.C.S.I.; J. C. Nesfield, M.A.; Prof. G. Oppert, Ph. D., M.R.A.S., M.A.I.; Hon. Mr. Justice Parker, M.C.S.; H. A. H. Payne; Pestonji Cavasji Petit; W. H. Propert, Bo.C.S.; Hon. Mr. Justice Prinsep, B.C.S.; Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunathrao; Nasarvanji Jehangir Readymoney; Col. M. P. Ricketts; Frank Rose; Sardar Balwantrao Vinayek Shastri; J. H. Steel; C. H. Tawney, M.A.; Lt.-Col. G. H. Trevor, M.S.C.; Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra Bahadur; Naib Dewan Vijeshankar Gavrishankar; and P. R. Wilson.

The following were elected Honorary Members:—

Prof. Sir M. Monier-Williams, Kt., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., C.I.E., Oxford; and Prof. Dr. James Darmesteter, Paris.

The following were elected Corresponding Members:—

Rt. Rev. R. Caldwell, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Tinnevelly; and Kedarnath Basu, Berhampur, Bengal.

The following donations were announced, and thanks voted to the respective donors:—

To the Society's Funds.

From H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.—Rs. 100 *per annum*.

To the Museum.

From A. Crawley-Boevey, C.S., Collector of Broach.—Articles used by the Taláviás at the Broach riot.

From G. A. Anderson, C.E.—Fifteen implements of the stone-age, found in the Arcot District, Madras.

The following Note was read by the author:—

NOTE *on* SACRIFICES *in* INDIA *as a* MEANS *of* AVERTING EPIDEMICS.

By T. S. WEIR, Surgeon-Major.

I do not intend, in this note, to do more than refer briefly to one form of sacrifice offered to avert disease. Throughout the East, sacrifice is now constantly made to avert or drive out an epidemic or other disease, to ward off misfortune, to propitiate, or as a thanksgiving for calamity escaped or passed through. In Afghánistán, and in some portions of Persia, the traveller is frequently met, before entering a village, by a sacrifice of animal life or of food, or of fire and incense. The Afghán Boundary Mission, in passing by villages in Afghánistán, were frequently received with fire and incense, and, while travelling in Khurásán on the Turkomán frontier, I was often received at a village by the sacrifice of a sheep, whose flesh was distributed amongst the poor. The distribution of the flesh is a remarkable feature of such sacrifices in Mussulmán countries. Whether the sacrifice is made in the form of taking life, or of offering flesh, or food not flesh, the intention is the same, viz., to propitiate, to ward off disease or ill-fortune, to offer thanksgiving, to make atonement, or to transfer the retribution that must be made for thoughts conceived or acts performed. Without discussing the origin or forms of a rite so prevalent as sacrifice of life, or of food not flesh, it is sufficient to observe that, in the East, it is practically now a rite having beneficent effects and affording scope for benevolent acts.

The sacrifice, to which this Note especially refers, is that of a cock, during epidemics of cholera. This rite is frequently performed by certain classes in Bombay to influence the incidence and progress of an epidemic of cholera. By some Hindus, cholera is ascribed to the influence of the Deví Jarimari. On the occurrence of an epidemic, an inspired person, who may

either be a male or a female, directs, by the orders of the Deví, the sacrifice of a cock, and requires all who seek her favour to assist at the rite. A cock is immediately brought before the inspired person, who performs *puja*, and puts *gandha*, *akshatá* and flowers on its head. He then sprinkles water over it, and commands that it be taken to a certain spot and sacrificed. The cock is sacrificed; but, at the same time, a chicken is released. The flesh of the cock is eaten by those assisting at the rite. The sacrifice is performed by cutting the throat of the bird in the usual manner. The cock is not always killed, but by command it is sometimes set free.

The points to be noted are:—

(*a*) The bird sacrificed must be a male.
(*b*) A chicken is set free at the time of the sacrifice.
(*c*) The throat of the cock is cut and thus the blood is shed.
(*d*) The flesh of the cock is eaten by those taking part in the rite.

Let us compare this rite with the sacrifice of the Passover. In the latter, a lamb was sacrificed, which had to be a male without blemish, and the blood had to be struck on the two side-posts and the lintel of the house-door. We find remarkable sanitary precautions directed to be observed in the celebration of the ordinance of the Passover. We read that they were to eat the flesh roast with fire, and with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (*i.e.*, wild lettuce). And it was commanded further:—"Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire." The shedding of blood to avert disease is of singular interest in connection with the theory of disease-propagation by germs.

I shall not, in this note, refer to the sacrifices frequently made to combat witchery (*e.g.*, the killing of pigs) for an exact description of them, though of great importance, would occupy too much time.

Discussion.

Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh remarked that sacrifices in India consisted of live animals, cooked food, and other articles. The cremation of the human corpse was also regarded as a sacrifice, the funeral rites being termed *Antyeshti*, or "Last Sacrifice." He also referred to the sacrifices made to Kálí Deví, and to the substitution for sacrifice introduced by the Vaishnava sect in the shape of *Bhajana*, or repetition of the name of the deity.

Mr. Yasavant Vasudev Athalye stated that the practice of eating the flesh of the cock, sacrificed for averting cholera, was not invariable. In the Southern Konkan, on the appearance of cholera, which was not a very common event, the villagers went in a procession from the village temple, with the accompaniment of the village music, to the extreme boundaries of the village with a basket of cooked rice, covered with *gulál* (red powder), a wooden doll representing the pestilence, and a cock carried by the Mhárs. The neck of the cock was cut off on the village boundary, and the dead body thrown away without its flesh being used. When cholera was thus transferred from one village to another, the next village observed the same ceremony, and passed on the scourge to a third village, and so on through several villages. He further stated, that, in the Southern Mahratta Country, a buffalo was frequently sacrificed in the temple of Margai, in order to avert a threatened cholera epidemic.

Mr. Bala Mangesh Wagle referred to the sacrifices offered in Bombay to Sitalá Deví, or the "Cooling Goddess," for the purpose of averting a visitation of small-pox. He observed, that the nature of the offerings so made differed in different castes. Where such offerings consisted of live animals, which was not always the case, it was not unusual for the lower castes to partake of their flesh. At the shrine of the goddess, however, in the temple of Bhuleshvar at Bombay, as the slaughter of the animals offered was strictly prohibited, they were afterwards let loose, and became the perquisite of the Bhopi or Gurava in charge of the image. No Bráhman ever took any offerings made to that goddess.

The President said that, the liberation of the chicken, described by Mr. Weir, was akin to the Hebrew custom of driving the scapegoat into the wilderness, in order that it might carry away the sin which had caused the disease Similar practices were to be met with throughout India. He corroborated Mr. Y. V. Athalye's statement with regard to the offering being

occasionally consumed by the sacrificers; but he pointed out that, among some wild tribes, such an act was deemed a deadly sin.

Surgeon-Major G. WATER thought that sacrifice and offering differed only in degree, the necessary element in each being something in the shape of an oblation. The cardinal object in each case was based on the principle of propitiation. That was, in reality, identical with the custom, which had obtained from time immemorial, of taking a present in the hand when going to ask a favor. In the Christian dispensation, prayer, humility and faith had taken the place of sacrifice and burnt-offering under the Jewish dispensation, each being the oblation, in the prevailing belief of the different periods, most acceptable to the Deity, and each having for its object the attainment of the highest possible end. In many parts of the world, there seemed to be a tendency to propitiate the spirit of evil as well as the spirit of good. Thus, in the last century, Dolá Bíbí, a cholera-goddess, was worshipped in Lower Bengal, and the pilgrimage to the shrine of that deified spirit of desolation took place in the months of April and May, when the disease was most prevalent. That custom had its counterpart in the West, in the opinion entertained by some, that the fear of hell was a greater incentive to good deeds than the hope of heaven, or, as the poet Burns put it:—"The fear of hell's a hangman's whip to keep the rogues in order." A sacrifice or offering, in short, signified, at one and the same time, submission and solicitation; and that principle underlay propitiatory offerings in all places and among all peoples. A survival of it was still to be found in the *dáli* (*i.e.*, present of fruits, &c.,) made by natives of India to men in high or influential position, though, in most instances, now-a-days, such offerings were tendered more in politeness than by way of breaking ground for the ultimate gaining of favour. The instances mentioned by Dr. Weir, with regard to Central Asia, would merely seem to indicate, that, in those regions, sacrifice had not yet given place to that simpler form of oblation, politeness, prevalent in more civilized parts.

Dr. DYMOCK remarked that the Jews of South-Eastern Europe, in serious cases of illness, had recourse to a ceremony called the *Indolka Gedolah*, which was somewhat similar to that described in Dr. Weir's Note. The house was decorated, lighted and perfumed. A black cock was then slaughtered at midnight, and its blood was smeared upon the door-posts and walls, while the performer exclaimed:—"This soul for th[illegible]

A *cheaper form of the same rite was that of breaking an egg* at each corner of the house, and repeating the same formula.

The following Note was read:—

NOTE *on* EMBALMING *in* ANCIENT INDIA.

By KEDARNATH BASU, Corr. Mem., Anthrop. Soc. of Bombay.

THE Hindus appear, in ancient times, to have practised, like the Egyptians, the act of embalming the human corpse. This appears from the following passage in the *Vishnu Purána* (Bk. IV., ch. v.) :—

निमेरपि तच्छरीरमतिमनोहरं तैलगन्धादिभिरुपस्क्रियमाणं,
नैव क्लेदादिकं दोषमवाप, सद्योमृतमिव तस्थौ॥

"The corpse of Nimi was preserved with oil and sweet-scented things, so that it did not undergo putrefaction, but remained like the body of one recently dead."

Again, the corpse of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya, was, in like manner, embalmed, according to the *Rámáyana* of Válmiki (*Ayodhyá Kánda, Sarga* 66, v. 14.)

तैलद्रोण्यां तदामात्याः संवेश्य जगतीपतिम्।
राज्ञः सर्वाण्यथादिष्टाश्चक्रुः कर्माण्यनन्तरम्॥

"Then the ministers laid the [body of the] king in a trough [full] of oil; and performed the subsequent rites as directed."

DISCUSSION.

The PRESIDENT remarked, that the *Káśi Khánda* contained an account of a Bráhman, who preserved his mother's corpse in order to transport it from Setubandha (Rámeśwara) to Káśi (Benares). He first washed it with the five pure products of the cow (*i.e.*, milk, curds, butter, urine and dung), and the

five pure fluids (*i.e.*, milk, curds, *ghi*, honey and sugar). The corpse was then embalmed in *Yakshakárdama* (a compound of agallochum, camphor, musk, saffron, sandal, and resin), and wrapped in successive folds of flowered muslin, silk, coarse cotton, madder-dyed cloth, and Nepálese blanketing. The Bráhman afterwards coated the whole with pure clay, and finally deposited the corpse in a copper coffin. Prof. H. H. Wilson, in referring to the story, expressed the opinion that such a practice was unknown, and would be thought impure at the present day. Máya, the Ásura, told King Chandraprabha, according to the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, that he was a Dánava, and that after he had been slain, his body had been skilfully embalmed with heavenly drugs and *ghi*. Barth, the traveller, had mentioned a case where a corpse was preserved in honey for the purpose of being transported.

Mr. YASAVANT VASUDEV ATHALYE said, that, in addition to the cases referred to by Mr. Kedarnath Basu and the President, he could mention two others. One was to be found in Bána's *Kádambarì*; and the other was that of Sankaráchárya, the great expositor of the Vedánta school of philosophy.

Mr. J. H. STEEL stated, that, in Burma, when a Phongyie, or Buddhist monk, of special sanctity, died his body was preserved for a considerable time, often for years, in honey; and when a favourable time arrived it was subjected to the process of combustion. That occasion was a time of general feasting and rejoicing, in which people of all nationalities were permitted to join. The corpse, enclosed in a gorgeous coffin, was placed on a richly decorated hearse. On its arrival at the place where the final ceremonies were to be performed, it was subjected to a "tug of war" between the inhabitants of two rival villages. That process was a source of great excitement; for it was believed that the victorious village would, for some time after, be successful in its affairs. On the completion of the ceremony, the coffin was placed on a huge pyre, to which lights were applied; and the corpse then speedily disappeared in the flames.

The following Paper was read:—

On the GHOSÍ *or* GADDÍ GAOLÍS *of the* DECCAN, *known as* MAHOMEDAN GAOLÍS.

By Lieut.-Colonel GUNTHORPE, M.S.C.

IT is not, perhaps, generally known that the Mahomedan Gaolís (milkmen), met with in parts of the Bombay Presidency, the Nizam's Dominions and Berar, are descended from Ahírs of Northern India, who became converts to Mahomedanism, and that they are identical with the Ghosís and Gaddís of the North-West Provinces. Sir Henry Elliot states:—"There appear to be three grand divisions amongst them (*i. e.* the Ahírs)—the Nandbans, the Jadubans, and Gwálbans (see Gwál)—which acknowledge no connexion with one another except that of being all Ahírs. Those of the Central Doáb usually style themselves Nandbans; those to the West of the Jumna and Upper Doáb, Jadubans; and those in the Lower Doáb and Benares, Gwalbans."[1] The Mahomedan Gaolís of the Deccan, who are known amongst themselves as Ghosí or Gaddí Gaolís, state that their native country is on the banks of the Jumna; that their forefathers accompanied, as milk suppliers, the armies of the Moghal Emperors, when they marched south to conquer the Deccan; and that numbers of them settled in the different cantonments which were then formed. Both these tribes are mentioned by Sir Henry Elliot. Of the Ghosís, he says:—"They are said to be descended from Ahírs. Most of them have now been converted to Mahomedanism; indeed, the name is generally considered, according to Dictionaries, to be exclusively applied to Musulmán milkmen. The name is derived from a Sanskrit word signifying a cattle pen."[2] The Gaddís he describes as "a tribe resembling the Ghosís," and adds.—

[1] Elliot, *Races of the North-West Provinces*, London, 1869, Vol. I., p. 3

[2] *Ib.* pp. 93 f.

"They are now mostly Musulmáns and have a few scattered communities in several Parganahs."[3] Sherring, also, says:—"The Ghosís are chiefly, and the Gaddís are partly, Mahomedans."[4] The fact of the Mahomedan milkmen of the Deccan terming themselves Ghosís or Gaddís tends to show that members of both tribes came together south, and as they were closely related to one another by marriage, the distinction between them disappeared in course of time. All Mahomedan Gaolís disavow their Hindu origin, and style themselves Shaiks. They are divided into three divisions[5]:—

I. Ghosís or Gaddís of the Deccan;
II. Bandís } of Northern India.
III. Gújars }

Regarding the second tribe here mentioned, Sir H. M. Elliot writes:—"The Eastern Ghosís who have been converted are called Bandí Ghosís;"[6] and of the third tribe he says:—"Gújars are also found in large quantities as far west as the Indus. Those in the Panjáb are all Musalmáns. As to their origin, the most probable story is that which makes them a cross between Rajputs and Ahírs. Their habits are more pastoral then agricultural."[7] Members of all three divisions may eat together, but may not intermarry.

The religious practices of the Mahomedan Gaolís further prove their Hindu origin; for, in most of their songs, the names of Hindu deities, and, in their marriage and birth ceremonies, many Hindu rites are introduced. Every household should possess an image in silver of Deví. This goddess is worshipped by them at the Dasara, and Lakshmí at the Díválí. The Holí festival is also observed by them. They are Mahomedans in so far that circumcision is necessary, and no animal

[3] *Ib.* p. 120.
[4] Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, London, &c. 1872, Vol. I., p. 334.
[5] Growse, *N. W. P. Census Report for* 1865, Appendix B.
[6] Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 94.
[7] *Ib.* p. 101.

is eaten unless its throat has been cut in the orthodox manner. Mahomedan shrine-worship is practised. They do not practise ancestor-worship. At the Holí the castor-oil plant, and at the Diválí the *tulasí* plant is worshipped. The following are some of their omens. If, on leaving a house, one of the inmates should sneeze once, it is unlucky, and a halt is made; but should it be repeated, luck will attend the departing person, and he or she leaves rejoicing. Meeting a person carrying a pot-full of water or milk, or a deer crossing from right to left, are good omens; but the sight of an empty water-pot, a deer crossing from left to right, a cat or snake crossing the path, or the braying of an ass, are evil ones.

The language used by them is a mixture of Deccaní Hindustání and Hindí. They have no slang. The costume of the males consists of tight, short drawers (*chaddi*) of white material; a waistband (*káchá*), with fringe at either end; a short coat (*bandí*); and a turban tied flat, tight, and round, in saucer-shape. Each male almost invariably carries a blanket (*Lamblí*). On their feet, they more often wear the sandal (*chaṛal*) than the ordinary shoe of the country. All possess a small bag, which they carry about with them. The costume of the female is a petticoat (*lahanga*) of coarse coloured stuff, and over this a *sárí*, which is always coloured. The boddice (*choli*) is of a cut peculiar to themselves. It is long, and without any opening either in front or at the back. To put it on, it is passed over the head. The front comes well down over the stomach, the sides coming lower, like flaps, and containing pockets. Sandals are worn. Their ornaments are glass bangles and bracelets of silver, brass, or zinc, according to the means of the wearer; and several earrings, of the same metals, are worn in each ear. Their toe-rings are of zinc; their necklets of silver and glass beads, with one or two of gold in the centre. Nose-rings and anklets are never put on. All their ornaments are of the patterns worn by Hindu females.

Marriage takes place, either in infancy, or after attaining the

age of puberty. It is the duty of the boy's father to go in search of a suitable bride for his son. When both parties have settled terms, the ceremony of betrothal is gone through by merely assembling the caste-people, and distributing among them *pán-supári* (betel-leaf and betel-nut) and liquor. The Ghosís dearly love their liquor, and consume great quantities of it on the slightest pretext. The bridegroom-elect goes with his relations to the village of the bride-elect, and there, with much consumption of liquor, the day for the marriage is fixed. It must be celebrated on a Thursday or a Friday, and, with the exception of the month of the Moharram and the one following it, may be at any time of the year. For the ceremony, no canopy (*mándwá*) is erected; but a branch of a mango tree is planted in front of the bride's house, and on it is tied a small rag containing a little rice coloured with turmeric. The ceremony lasts five days. On the first day, the bridegroom's father and his relations are entertained at the bride's house. On the second day, the compliment is returned. Nothing is done on the third day except applying of henna (*menhdi*) to the hands of the bride and bridegroom. On the fourth day, a feast is again given by the bridegroom's party. On the fifth day, the bride and bridegroom are kept fasting, and the latter is taken to the house of the former, where he is seated on a bullock-pad (*chye*) under the mango branch. A Kázi is now called in and an agreement entered into, fixing the dowry of the bride. The Kázi here reads the *nikáh* out[illegible] The bridegroom is then taken into the house, and s[illegible]ite the bride. The only other persons there pre[illegible]les who sing songs and throw hand[illegible]e happy couple for some time. T[illegible]e bridegroom [illegible] comes out c[illegible]of mil[illegible] [illegible]nted with [illegible] by the n[illegible] day, fir[illegible]

relations of both parties, are entertained in the bride's house. During the marriage festivities, no meat, but rice cooked in molasses, is consumed, and both males and females indulge in much liquor. After this, the happy couple go home to the bridegroom's house. As with the Mahomedans, a man may not marry his paternal uncle's daughter. For the marriage ceremonies, the bridegroom has to supply himself with an outfit, consisting of two sheets (*dupatas*), two coats, and two pairs of drawers. The bride's parents have to supply her with a trousseau of two coloured *sáris* and *cholís*.

For a birth, a midwife of the Máng caste is engaged. Immediately after it takes place, both mother and child are bathed in hot water, and the former is given a strong dose of liquor. This treatment is kept up for three days. Immediately after the infant gets its first bath, it is placed on a sieve (*supada*) for a few minutes. On the fifth day, the sieve, having a lime and *pán* leaves placed on it, is removed outside the house, and the worship of Chettí is gone through. After that ceremony, it is thrown on to the road. For five days, the mother is fed with nothing but pap, made of wheat flour and molasses; and a lamp is kept burning in the room all night. On the fifth night, the females of the caste are feasted, and sing and drink liquor. The child is named on the first day, the name, which is generally that of an ancestor, being selected by the vote of the assembled caste-men. Much liquor is also drunk by this assemblage. The period of uncleanness for the mother is twelve days. A boy may be circumcised at any time between the age of two months and twelve years, according to the means of his parents. The barber who performs the rite is paid Re. 1¼.

The funeral ceremonies are similar to those of other Mahomedans, with the addition of some few peculiarities. Should, for example, an old man die, there is much liquor consumed in token of joy at his departure. The only time, at which a woman is clothed in white, is when the shroud is put

on her after death. The male relations observe the *Shatuk* for a month and a half, during which period they may neither shave nor buy any cattle.

The habitations of Ghosís are huts with mud walls and grass thatch. They have no doors to the entrance, which is usually on the east side and is always left open. Spots near towns or villages are selected as sites, and the buffaloes and cattle are picketed outside the huts. Military cantonments and large towns are favourite places, because the people can there get a ready sale for their milk and butter.

The chief man of a division is styled a Pátel, and has under him two subordinates, *viz.*, a Chaudrí and a Gaurwa. All these offices are hereditary. The Pátel has no absolute power, but must be consulted on all matters of caste, or affecting the welfare of the community under him. If he has a question to decide, he must assemble a council of elders and consult them. Should the council agree with him, it is carried into execution; should they disagree, nothing further is done and the matter is allowed to drop. The Chaudrí is the assistant of the Pátel, and acts for him in his absence. The Gaurwa stands in the position of a aide-de-camp to the Pátel and Chaudrí. It is his business to go from house to house and communicate all their orders.

The Ghosís, like all the old tribes of India, have their Bhát or genealogist. They term him *kun-kunia*. He is in possession of the genealogical tree of every respectable household, and takes a turn over the country, every now and then, to enter births, deaths and marriages in his books. His abode is in Northern India. He has no power to inflict fines or other punishment.

The rules of inheritance are the same as those of Mahomedans of the country. Re-marriage of widows by *nikáh* is allowed; so also plurality of wives. Divorce, however, although authorized by the Mahomedan law and resorted to by others of the faith, is not allowed by them. In the event

of misconduct on the part of the wife, the husband can separate from her; but she may not re-marry during his lifetime. Of caste offences, adultery is looked on as the gravest; but this is not because their women are so very moral, for they are the opposite when away from their husbands for the purpose of selling milk and butter-milk in the towns. In former days, an unchaste woman, if detected, was tied to a tree and severely flogged with the twigs of the tamarind tree. This form of punishment has now been changed to that of excommunication, re-admittance to caste privileges being purchased by payment of a fine. A male, found guilty of the same offence, is made to appear, dressed in female attire, before an assemblage of caste-men, and is subjected to further indignity. After being put to shame in this manner, he is made to pay a fine, varying according to his means from Rs. 2 to Rs. 100. The money is forthwith expended in liquor for merry-making. Other breaches of caste-rules are punished, according to their nature, either by fine or excommunication. No particular ordeals exist among them. Those, who possess a number of cows and buffaloes, subsist by the sale of milk and butter. Those, who are not so well off, generally own a pad-bullock or two, which they employ in carrying loads of grass or wood, gathered in the jungles, for sale in the towns. They also bring in *karwi* (*sorghum vulgare*), which they sell by retail in the bazars. It is these who are the dishonest lot. The women of the well-to-do portion help their husbands by hawking about milk, butter and butter-milk for sale in the streets. The women of the poorer class go out and cut grass, or collect wood or cow-dung cakes, which they bring to market for sale. No Gaolís, male or female, may work as day labourers in the fields or on the roads, for this is strictly forbidden by the caste-rules. The males may take service as Gaolís in private families.

Those Ghosí Gaolís, who are so inclined, are addicted to the following classes of crime, viz., cattle-lifting and stealing *karwi*, grass, and wood. Cattle are stolen in two ways, viz., by taking

them away from their sheds, and by driving them off when they have strayed from their homes, or from among a herd when the herdsman is either asleep or off his guard. For the purpose of cattle-lifting, a party of two, three, or more will leave their homes and go a good distance, giving themselves out, when asked, as travellers journeying to some far-off place. They put up openly in villages where travellers generally reside. Aliases are generally assumed, and the name of the town where they live is never given. When on the march with stolen cattle, great care is taken to avoid villages and towns *en route*, until a safe distance from the scene of crime has been attained. The animals are then offered for sale in open market. They generally steal in one district and offer for sale in another. No disguise is assumed, except sometimes that of Heydias or professional traders in cattle. The suspicions of villagers are rarely aroused when they see them passing with cattle; for, noticing that they are either Gaolís or Heydias, they think it natural and let them pass on uninterrogated. Should an inquisitive villager ask any questions, the reply is, that the animals have been bought, or are being taken to graze. One mode of disposing of animals is to pick out some mild-looking individual and offer him a commission to sell them. Butchers, Banjáras, and frequently their own castemen, are the chief purchasers. There is often a secret understanding with the butchers, who, in such cases, slaughter the animals at once, to conceal all traces of the theft. In stealing cattle, a shed is selected, and the lifters then put up in a neighbouring hamlet. At night, the spot is visited, and the best animals are selected, untied from their pegs and driven off at once. After journeying all that night and the following day, a halt is made for meals, and so on. From herds out grazing, cattle are calmly driven off whenever it is noticed that the herdsman is either asleep or carelessly lounging somewhere out of sight. Stray cattle are driven off as they are met with. *Karwi* thefts are committed very cunningly. A party of Ghosís,

taking with them several pack-bullocks, start off and select villages, near which *karui* is stacked, or lying in the fields. They there openly purchase a couple of bullock-loads and hang about the vicinity out of sight till night-fall, when, under cover of darkness, they load the remainder of their animals. If they are taxed with the theft, they produce the seller as witness of their having honestly acquired the *karui*. Although these means are given, which dishonest Ghosís employ to steal cattle, yet it would not be fair to put down the entire tribe as professional cattle-lifters. There are black sheep amongst these people as in every flock, but some are criminal more from want of means than from predatory predisposition.

The following Note was read:—

NOTE *on* NIŚÍ, *or the* NIGHT-DEMON,

By KEDARNATH BASU, Cor. Mem. Anthrop. Soc. of Bombay.

IT is believed, by the Hindus of Bengal, that Niśí walks about the streets at night as a demon in human form, and calls by name the inmates of houses for whom she takes a fancy. She then lures such persons into the wilderness, where she either kills them, or leaves them in a wretched plight. It is thought that Niśí never calls any one more than thrice. If the person, whom she calls, answers the call, and opens the house-door, he is sure to be lured away. The Hin[illegible] never
answer a call, or open the house-door at [illegible]]is
given a fourth time. This custom is [illegible] ed
to after midnight, when Niśí is [illegible]
nocturnal tour.

Discussion.

The President said that Niśí was clearly one of the numerous forms of Kálí, the terrible goddess of darkness, disease and death. In the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, a Bráhman described how he had accidentally fallen into the river at night while drawing water. He was washed ashore near a tree, which he seized, and then ascended the bank, where he saw a great temple, dedicated to the Mothers, who appeared in all their brightness. He sank down exhausted, and slept till day departed: "And then there appeared the horrible female ascetic called 'Night,' furnished with many stars by way of a bone necklace, white with moonlight instead of ashes, and carrying the moon for a gleaming skull." In that picture, the goddess-mother was likened to an Aghorí, belonging to a peculiar order of religious mendicants, who worship her with the most revolting rites, and wander about smeared, with wood-ash from the funeral pyre, with a cobra-skeleton round the neck and a human skull in the hand.

RULES

OF THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF

NOTICE TO BINDER.

The Rules and List of Members are to be bound at the end of the 1st volume of the Society's Journal.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

It is particularly requested that the Honorary Secretary may be informed of any errors in the addresses or descriptions given in the List of Members.

Members, consisting of histories, voyages and tra

journals, printed records of Government, and other works on anthropological subjects.

6. Every candidate for Ordinary Membership shall be duly proposed and seconded by Ordinary Members of the Society. The election shall be entrusted to the Council, and shall be by ballot. One black ball in five shall exclude. Notice shall be sent to each candidate of his election not later than one week from the date thereof. No Member so elected shall be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of Membership until he shall have paid his subscription. If his subscription be not paid within three calendar months from the date of such election, he shall be liable to be declared no longer a Member of the Society.

7. The Subscription, payable by Ordinary Members for the year ending on the 31st of December, shall be Rs. 10. The first annual payment of Members elected in November and December shall be considered to extend to the 31st of December in the following year. Members, however, may become Life Members by compounding, at any time, by the payment of Rs. 100. Such sum shall be placed to capital account.

8. No Member shall be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of Membership as long as he shall continue in arrear. Notice of such arrear shall be posted to the last known address of such Member. If he fail to pay the arrear within one calendar month after the date of such notice, his name shall be posted in the rooms of the Society, and such default shall be reported at the next Ordinary General Meeting. If the arrear be not paid before the second Ordinary General Meeting after such notice, he shall be liable to be declared no longer a Member of the Society.

9. Any Member desirous of resigning Membership shall signify his intention of so doing to the Secretary in writing before the end of the current year.

10. The Meetings of the Society shall be of three kinds, viz.—Annual, Special, and Ordinary.

11. The Annual General Meeting shall be held some time in the month of February. Notice of such Meeting shall be sent to every Member of the Society not later than one fortnight previous to the date thereof. The business to be transacted at such Meeting shall be to elect the Officers and Ordinary Members of Council by ballot for the ensuing year; to receive the Annual Report of the Council; and to hear the President's address. Members not resident in Bombay shall be entitled to vote at such election by means of proxy papers, which shall be sent to them at the same time as the notices of such Meeting. The President, Vice-Presidents, and one-third of the Ordinary Members of the Council shall, on the termination of their year of office, be ineligible for re-election to the same office until after the expiration of one year. Such one-third shall retire by rotation according to seniority of appointment. During the first two years, however, it shall be left to the Members of the Council to decide amongst themselves, by ballot or otherwise, which of its Members shall so retire.

12. The Accounts of the Society shall be audited by two Members, who shall be elected at the Ordinary General Meeting immediately preceding the Annual General Meeting. The Accounts shall be incorporated in the Annual Report of the Council.

13. A Special General Meeting may be called at any time by the Council, or upon the written requisition of at least nine Members. A fortnight's notice of the time when, and the object for which, such Special General Meeting is to assemble shall be sent to every Member residing in India, and no business other than that contained in such notice shall be entered upon thereat. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

14. The Ordinary General Meetings shall, if practicable, be held once in every month, or oftener if the Council think fit.

15. No existing Rule shall be amended or repealed, and no new rule shall be passed unless by vote of two-thirds of the Members present at a Special General Meeting convened for the purpose.

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OF THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF

BOMBAY.

---

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‡ *Life Members.*
¶ *Contributors of Papers.*
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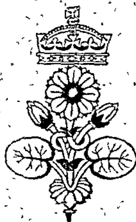
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF

BOMBAY.

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING held on Friday, the 27th of August, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the chair.*

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The rules of the Society were afterwards discussed and passed.

The following paper was then read by the author:—

ON BETROTHAL *among the* MAHÁRÁSHTRA BRÁHMANAS, *by* YASAVANT VASUDEV ATHALYE, M.A., LL.B., *Secretary.*

THE institution of marriage is properly considered the basis of society, and an investigation of the form which it assumes in a particular community furnishes a criterion of the stage of civilization such community has reached. In this view, I

propose to place before you to-day a full description of the ceremony called *Vág-dána* (betrothal), which is an important component factor of the nuptial ceremonies prevailing at the present day in the Bráhmaṇa community of Maháráshtra, or the Dekkan.

The marriage-rite, among Hindus, consists of several ceremonies, which admit of a division into two groups. Those that come under the first group are collectively named in *Dharma-śástra* works as *Vág-dána* (betrothal, *lit.*, gift by word of mouth), and, in common parlance, as *Vág-niśchaya* (determination by word of mouth). The ceremonies constituting the second group bear no collective name; but there is a radical distinction between them and those that constitute *Vág-dána* (betrothal). While *Vág-dána* merely gives rise to a contract, the essential ceremonies of marriage create a status, the rights and liabilities of which are determined by law under the sanction of the society, and not left to the volition of the parties. This distinction between the different rites that fall under the generic name of Hindu marriage has not always been kept in view by some writers. This circumstance has occasioned some misconception and, consequently, mis-statements on their part, which I shall refer to in the course of this paper.

I propose to treat of *Vág-dána* (betrothal) under the following heads:—

(1) Description of the ceremony, as laid down in works on ritual.

(2) Observations on the symbolical portion of the ceremony.

(3) Modern deviations from the enjoined ritual, together with their causes and effects.

(4) The nature and legal consequences of the ceremony.

I. Ceremonial.

With reference to the first division relating to the description of the ceremony, I give below a free rendering of the ritual

(*prayoga*), as given in the *Prayoga-ratna* of Náráyaṇa bhaṭṭa, the founder of the well-known Bhaṭṭa family of Benares. I have chosen his work, because it is considered as the latest standard work on ritual in Maháráshṭra, and, I believe, all over India. It is true that the said work is regarded as an authority by the followers of the Rig-Veda alone; but I have consulted the *Saṃskára-ratna-málá* of Gopínáthabhaṭṭa and the *Maheśa-bhaṭṭi*, which regulate the domestic ceremonial of the followers of the Yajur-Veda, and I find no differences in the ritual laid down therein, except on one or two minor points, which I shall note below. As regards the followers of the Sáma-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, I have not come across any separate ceremonial work in use among them specially. Of the Gṛihya-sútras of those Vedas, only that of Gobhila for the Sáma-Veda was available to me; and I found that neither that nor its supplement by his son, known as *Grihyá-saṅgraha*, contains any ceremonial of betrothal. At any rate, the number of the Sámavedins and the Atharvavedins, domiciled in Maháráshtra is so small as to justify my accepting the practice of Rigvedins as fairly representing the ritual of betrothal in vogue among Bráhmaṇas of all the Vedas in this part of the Bombay Presidency.

Confining myself thus to the Rigvedin writers of ceremonial, I compared their directions in the matter of betrothal from Áśvaláyana down to Káśínátha Upádhyáya. The earliest work in this series is the Grihya-sútra of Áśvaláyana. It contains no reference to *Vág-dána*; but it is difficult to conclude from this that no such rite was performed in Áśvaláyana's time; for, in respect of the nuptial rite, he professes to note only observances as were then universally in vogue, and pretend to be exhaustive.[1] It may not, however, be to infer that in his time either betrothal had not existence separately from , or, if it had, invariably or even gene. The next

[1] See his Gṛihya- I, Kaṇḍikâ 7, Sût

order of time is the *Pariśishṭa* (Paralipomena) to the said *Sútra*. There are no materials for saying when or by whom this work was written; but it is not unlikely that it must have been written long after the original *Sútra*.[2] Betrothal figures here as a separate observance of sufficient importance to deserve a special treatment. It is termed *Kanyá-varaṇa* (selection of a maiden), and consists of a request and a promise of marriage. The ceremonial is not at all laden with any symbolistic observances beyond the recitation of one Vedic text and certain benedictions by *Bráhmaṇas*, and the presentation of fruit to the bride elect. The ritual as given is simple, though it is necessary to add, that the direction at the end, for the performance of propitious family observances, seems to indicate that it was not the whole. The next work consulted by me is the *Prayoga-párijata*. The tenth stanza out of the opening verses represents Narasimha (probably the name of

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[2] See Prof. Max Muller's observations on the relative ages of *sutras* and their *Pariśishṭas* in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 257 to 260. The author of the *Prayogapárijata*, in citing the passage about betrothal, indeed seems to attribute the authorship of the *sutra* and the *Pariśishṭa* to one and the same person. But the difference in the style, as well as the arrangement of the two works, seems hardly to favour the view. On the other hand, the following considerations point to the conclusion to which I have arrived. (*a*) In section 3 of the first chapter a reference is made to the 3rd *sutra*, of *Kaṇḍikâ* VII. of *Adhyáya* III. of the *Grihya-sútra* as the commandment of 'the *Achárya*', which would be an improper mode of citation of one's own work. (*b*) While the author of the *Grihya-sutra* closes his work with a salutation to Saunaka, an earlier Sútra-writer, the *Pariśishṭa* closes with a salutation to Acharyas in addition. (*c*) The fact, that while the *sútra* attracted the industry of several learned commentators, the *Pariśishṭa* remains without any gloss, shows that the latter was not held in the same estimation as the former. It must also be noted that according to the orthordox rules of construction in the case of a difference between a *Sutra* and a *Pariśishta*, the latter yields in authority to the former. This could hardly be the case if a *Pariśishṭa* was only a supplement to a *Sutra* by one and the same writer. (*d*) The quantity of the *Pariśishṭa* text is equal if not larger than the *sutra* text; and it is not easy to conceive that with so many omissions Áśvaláyana's *Sútra* could have attained the authoritative position which it did. A supplement of that size, however, after a long period, would not have detracted from the merit of the original work, seeing that the additions made by it were in most part due to increased customary observances during the interval.

some prince) as the patron who encouraged the compilation.[3] The exact date of that prince is unknown to me; but the fact that a manuscript copy of the work in the library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikáneer is dated Samvat 1495 (1439 A. C.) shows that that work must have been written before the commencement of the fifteenth century. Here an additional layer of ceremonial is met with. The worship of *śachí* is added on the authority of Nárada, as cited in a work of Srídhara. Then came Nárúyaṇabhaṭṭa in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[4] He adds much ceremonial, which he refers to usage alone, and introduces the worship of Gaṇapati and Varuṇa, though he notices that it had not become universal in the case of the latter. Kaśináthа Upádhyáya in his *Dharmasindhu* peremptorily enjoins, in the beginning of this century, the worship of Varuṇa. This comparison of the rituals of betrothal, as laid down at different periods, will justify the observation that symbolism has gone on steadily increasing among Hindus in the matter of that rite. It seems not unnatural to conclude that every succeeding writer adopted as much ceremonial from his predecessors as had not become obsolete, and supplemented the same by incorporating in his work such customary observances as had come into vogue since the date of the last work. That which passes in the later works, under the name of *Vág-dána*, consists of two parts, the one called *Kanyá-varaṇa*) selection of a maiden), and the other *Vág-dáṇa* proper (gift by word of mouth). The former corresponds to what is known in the vernaculars as *mangṇi*, and like that word was applied by Sútra-writers like Ásvalayana and Baudháyana to the whole ceremony as it now prevails.

Ceremonial of *Vág-dána* from the *Prayogaratna* of Náráyaṇabhaṭṭa.

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[3] This militates against the mention of Nrisinha as the author of the work by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. See his *Catalogue of Bikáneer MSS*,. p. 439.

[4] See Mandlik's *Hindu Law*, Introduction, p lxxv.

"Now the ceremonial of *Vág-dána,* which constitutes a factor of the principal [form of] marriage [called] *Bráhma* is laid down in conformity with the *Grihya-pariśishta* and usage :—

"At an auspicious time fixed by an astrologer, when the lunar asterism of the day is one of those prescribed for the marriage ceremony, the bridegroom himself, his father, or some other elder, should send a deputation consisting of two, four, or eight males,[5] decently apparelled, and an equal number of females. The sender is to repeat a certain Vedic *Rich* at the time.[6] The deputation is to attend to astrological omens, and to go to the house of the bride, either with or without the bridegroom, accompanied by music and singing songs. When they reach the bride's house, the bride, adorned with ornaments and good apparel, is brought forward, and made to sit on a comfortable seat covered by a cloth, facing the east. A fruit (usually cocoanut) and *tambúla* (leaves of piper betel and whole areca nuts) are put into her hand by the leader of the deputation. Then in her presence and that of her parents or guardians, the persons deputed by the bridegroom are to remember Gaṇapati and other tutelary deities, and, while facing either the east or west, are to say as follows :—'Here we select So-and-so, daughter of So-and-so, grand-daughter of So-and-so, and great-grand-daughter of So-and-so, and belonging to such and such a *Gotra* and a *pravara,* as bride to So-and-so, son of So-and-so, grandson of So-and-so, great-grandson of So-and-so, and belonging to such and such a *Gotra* and a *pravara.*' The father of the bride, then consulting his wife, kinsmen (*jñáti*) and relations (*bandhu*) should say 'you may select,' either after previously reciting the above declaration or without it. The above offer and reply is to be

[5] The *Kaustubha* and *Gopinátha bhaṭṭi* do not lay down any definite number, probably because the direction of Áśvalayana in that matter was never regarded in practice.

[6] Rig-veda x. 85-23.

repeated thrice, and then the giver of the bride is loudly to say thrice:—'I will give in marriage' ('pradásyámi'). The father or guardian of the bridegroom is then to honour the bride with *gandha* (sandal tincture), *akshata* (consecrated rice), two suits of beautiful raiment, ornaments, *támbúla*[7] (a roll of piper betel leaves) and flowers, &c. The giver of the bride must now sit facing the east with the bride to his left, perform the *Achamana* (sipping water thrice with the recitation of the name of the deity), recite the time and place of the ceremony, and proceed to make a formal and solemn enunciation of purpose (*Sankalpa*), to the following effect 'I will now perform the *Vág-dána* ceremony as a part of the rite of marriage to be hereafter performed. I will also invoke and worship Ganapati in connection with that rite.' So saying, the giver is to worship Ganapati with all offerings, beginning with *gandha* (sandal tincture) and ending with the gift of *dakshiná* (present). The giver is also to worship the *Kalaśa* (a pot of water as representing Varuna) if such a family custom exist.[8] He is then to rise from his seat, make the person deputed on behalf of the bridegroom sit in his place by the side of the bride, and himself sitting opposite to him facing the west, honour him by presenting *gandha* (sandal) and *támbúla* (roll of piper betel leaves). The bridegroom's deputy is to do the same by the giver of the bride. The giver then takes five hard whole areca nuts, smeared with *sandal* tincture and *akshata* (consecrated rice), and again reciting the *gotra*, *pravara*, and the names of the three ancestors of each, declares that he has made a gift of the bride by word of mouth to the bridegroom, free from bodily defects, excommunication, and impotency, and ten defects, promises that he would make the final gift by delivery in the presence of God, domestic fire, and Bráhmanas, at such

[7] Called Vidi in Maráthi.

[8] The worship of Varuna in connection which this rite has no place in the *Prayogapárijáta*, is enjoined optionally by Nárâyanabhatta, and peremptorily by the later authors, such as Anantadeva, Gopînáthabhatta and Kaśinátha Upádhyáya, the author of the *Dharmasindhu*.

future time as may be prescribed as auspicious by astrologers, then ties the aforesaid areca nuts at the end of the garment of the leader of the deputation, recites a certain Vedic *mantra* over it,[9] and adorns the knot with sandal and saffron. The bridegroom's father or relative ties a similar knot at the end of the garment of the bride's father or relative and says, "Keep you now to your resolution in reference to the bridegroom of such and such *gotra*, *pravara*, *&c.*" The bride's father then says:—"I have given this maiden by word of mouth; you have accepted her for your son. Mark well the maiden, and keep to your resolution and be happy." The bridegroom's father then says:—"You have given this maiden by word of mouth; I have accepted her for my son, mark well the bridegroom, and keep to your resolution and be happy."[10] The Bráhmaṇas present then pronounce benedictions on the ceremony performed as follows:—"May waters be propitious. May there be amity of hearts. May there be no injury or obstruction of any kind. May there be long life, advancement, contentment, prosperity and mental satisfaction. May this [promise] be fulfilled by you [both]." They then recite two Vedic *mantras*.[11] The giver of the bride then worships *Śachí* on a quantity of rice in a vessel, and the bride is then to pray as follows:—"I bow to thee, O beloved consort of Indra, pray give me a married state, prosperity, health and birth of a son." Then married women apply *kumkuma* (saffron) to the bride's forehead, and wave a light before her. The woman waving the lamp is presented with either a *támbúla* or cocoanut. The Bráhmaṇas are then presented with sandal, and *támbúla* and recite certain *mantras*.[12] This concludes the ceremony of betrothal.

[9] Rig-Veda v., 47-7.

[10] If the leader of the deputation is other than the bridegroom's father, then the necessary alteration in the formula should be made.

[11] Rig-Veda x.—191—4 and x.—32-1.

[12] Rig-Veda I.—164—27; III.—8-2; III.—8-11; IX.—97-5; X.—116-2; a *rich* from a *Khila* of the Rig-Veda beginning with the word *ghritáduh*; V—47-7.

are not usually employed to mark the creation of the relationship of husband and wife; and I do not know whether it is possible to eradicate all trace of symbolism in respect of a rite which concerns a whole nation displaying human understanding in all its grades. At any rate, in a country like India, where writing was, and even now is, very sparingly resorted to as a mode of recording social transactions, the employment of symbolism was almost inevitable. Of course the nature and extent of symbolism employed will vary among different nations according to the stages of civilization that may have been developed among them; but no student of the progress of mankind is justified in thinking that whatever departs from the standard he is used to is not worthy of his serious thought. With these remarks I will proceed to show what was most likely intended to be conveyed by the different symbolical parts of the ritual in question.

In respect of the Vedic formulæ enjoined to be recited on particular occasions, it is well known that their meaning has often no bearing on the act or rite, in reference to which they are enjoined to be recited. The existence of a word, or sometimes even of a syllable out of a word, in a *mantra* corresponding to the name of the act to be done, stamps that *mantra* as one connected with that act. The object of this procedure is evident. At the time of the *Smritis*, *sútras*, and *prayogas*, the Vedas must have already become an object of extreme veneration, owing to their antiquity and to their obscurity consequent on a structural change of language. Accordingly, whenever anything of consequence had to be done, nothing was more natural than that the recitation of a Vedic *mantra*, which was of so sacred a character, should be considered as the fittest means of imparting solemnity to that act. It must, however, have been soon felt, that this mode of consecrating an act was defective, in so far as it left the parties concerned without any means of knowing the nature of that act. It seems to me that it was with a view to meet this difficulty,

more particularly in the case of the illiterate and the ignorant, that symbolical representation came into vogue as being best suited to mediocre understandings. This is corroborated by the development of the ritual which is marked in the *Prayoga-ratna* as compared with the *Prayoga-Párijátá*. Thus, for instance, the presentation of fruit to the bride could easily convey to the meanest capacity that the object of the ceremony of betrothal and marriage was to beget progeny, which has so great an analogy to fruit borne by trees. I will now refer to the different observances mentioned in the above ritual.

(*a*) The object of presenting fruit to the bride I have already explained. Cocoanut, and betel-nut, and dates are usually so presented to brides or married women. The selection of these kinds of fruit is due probably to their being available at all times of the year.

(*b*) The declaration of the *gotra* and *pravara* and the names of three ancestors of both the bride and the bridegroom, is for the purpose of complete identification at the time of the future marriage. The precision observed in this matter, as well as in the matter of reciting the time and place of the act, is remarkable.

(*c*) The request or offer by the bridegroom's relative and the reply of the bride's relative are to be repeated thrice, in order to leave no room for doubt that the act was a deliberate one. The number three has among the Hindus a mystic efficacy, similar to that of nine, five and three among the Greeks. This mode of entering into a contract brings to mind the verbal contract of the Romans, called *stipulatio*, which consisted of a question and an answer containing a promise.[14]

(*d*) Sandal (*chandana*) tincture is used on account of its fragrance both as one of the sixteen offerings (*Upachàra*) to the deity, and to individuals on festive occasions. In fact, the theory of physical worship of the deity is to offer

[14] See Maine's *Ancient Law*, pp. 326 to 330.

all that to God which is found grateful to the human body.

(e) *Akshata* (consecrated rice) is regarded as an emblem of prosperity or freedom from diminution. That forms the seat of Ganpati as represented by an areca-nut, and Varuṇa as represented by a vessel full of water. That again is the convenient substitute for any of the sixteen offerings which may be wanting on any particular occasion at the time of worship. Rice is given to the bride as an emblem of constancy, which the literal meaning of the word *Akshata* viz. 'entireness or wholeness' suggests. This will find corroboration in the fact, that among the blessings pronounced by the Bráhmaṇas at the end of the ceremony, there is one which says "let there be freedom from dimunition, or injury (*akshatamastu*)." This explanation will not appear surprising to those who know what part the similarity of names in sound has played in the mythological literature of the Hindus.

(*f*) Tom-toms and music are employed at the time of the procession to the bride's house to secure publicity. The invitation to Bráhmaṇas serves the same purpose.

(*g*) A pair of garments and ornaments are given to the bride as dowry.

(*h*) Flowers are an emblem of mental satisfaction, not so much because those two things stand in the relation of cause and effect, as because they are designated by the same word in Sanskrit, viz., *Sumanas*.

(*i*) Among the points of the compass, the East enjoys a pre-eminence in all sacred and festive matters, owing to the rise therein of the sun, which is always associated with new life and new activity.

(*j*) Ganapati has in the present day outstripped all other deities of the Hindu pantheon in all social festive observances. He is the God that secures to an act immunity from obstructions.

Varuna is specially made to preside in marriage ceremonies, probably because he is now the god of the waters which are a source of the earth's fertility. The invocations to waters to be propitious to the rite confirms this. It is clear from Náráyanabhatta's language that Varuna did not at one time enjoy this honour. May this be due to the fact that the Varuna of the Vedic period was only the setting sun and had not been invested with the office of presiding over the waters until Pauranic times? [15]

Śachí is a Vedic goddess, who, from her happy matrimonial life, came to preside over marriage.

(*k*) A knot is indicative of a constant reminder, and an exhortation to an unflinching resolution. It also meant the conclusion of a bargain and the creation of an obligation, which primarily meant a *vinculum*, or a special tie between two or more persons. The nature of this knot must not be confounded with that of the knot of the garments of the bride and the bridegroom, tied during the nuptial ceremony proper (*viváha*). That may be likened to the European 'true lover's knot,' which is considered as an emblem of fidelity, love and friendship.

(*l*) The application of saffron tincture (*kunkuma*) is merely for the purpose of adorning the forehead. As embellishment of the body was, in course of time, discouraged in the case of widows, its application has come to be regarded not only as a peculiar privilege, but a distinctive mark, of every married or marriageable woman. The so-called *kunkuma* of the present day is turmeric steeped in carbonate of soda, called *Pápadakhára* in Marathi, and limejuice. Bits of turmeric so steeped become red, and are powdered; and the powder is then mixed with oil. This preparation is called *kunkuma* by its resemblance in colour to saffron, which the word really s[illegible]

[15] Wilson's Introduction to the Rig-Veda S[illegible]

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[15] Wilson's Introduction to the Rig-Veda Samhita, p. xxxiv.

Haridrá (turmeric) occupies the same position in point of auspiciousness in the case of married women as *kunkuma* does; and, I think, for the same reasons.

(*m*) *Támbúla*, called *Vidá* in Maráthi, is a roll of the leaves of piper-betel with areca-nut, cloves, lime, &c., is one of the sixteen offerings (*upachára*) enjoined in the worship of the deity, and is offered, in the upper stratum of society, on the occasions of a meeting as a mode of honouring the guest.

(*n*) The waving of lights is a mode of honouring the person on whose behalf a particular ceremony is performed. Its object is to direct the attention of the whole assembly to the bride or the bridegroom. A hanging lamp is placed in a square basket as a shield against wind. A married woman, who holds the basket, takes out the lamp, and waves it round the face of the bride, for which act she is honoured by the presentation of a *támbúla*, or a cocoanut. The waving of a light before the face of a man is sometimes intended to remove unlucky influences resulting from evil sights. This does not, however, seem to be the object of the ceremony here.

(*o*) *Áchamana* (sipping of water three or six times) always marks the beginning and the end of every religious or festive act.

III. Present Deviations.

Coming now to the third division of my subject, I will note the deviations, which the present practice of Mahárásh̤tra shows in the matter of this rite. In two important particulars, the ritual, above laid down, is departed from. The first is that, while the ritual represents the bridegroom's relatives as making a request for a gift of the bride, the present practice is for the relatives of the bride to request that she may be accepted. Several legends in the Puránas contain descriptions of bride-grooms repairing to the fathers of the brides and making

personal request for the gift of the bride. Vicarious request had come into use even in Âśvaláyana's time and hence his direction that it shall be optional for the bridegroom to accompany the deputation to the bride's parental roof. There are no means of determining when the custom recorded in the ritual was abandoned in favour of the present one. Certain it is, that for some centuries past the present custom has existed, and it is only due to the conservatism of the nation, which invests all ancient usages with a certain degree of sanctity, and will accordingly never let them die by preserving them in form even when they are obsolete in substance, that traces of divergent customs gone out of use long since are still observable. Thus, though it is the bridegroom that is beseeched in the present day, the formula in the *Vág-dána* ceremony, that represents the bridegroom as making the request, is left unchanged. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the positions of the bride and the bridegroom were changed, either owing to a diminution of males at one time as compared with the number of females, or owing to the marriageable age having, by degrees, been reduced in the case of females, and to custom having begun to look upon as improper the conduct of a father who did not see his daughter married before puberty. There appear to be no *à priori* reasons why the offer of marriage should come from one side more than from the other. It is the surrounding circumstances that will determine the custom in this matter at different epochs in the life of a race.

The second deviation, and that by far the more important, is that the *Vág-dána* ceremany is not now performed separately from the nuptial ceremony proper. It is still generally gone through, but only an hour or two before the exact point of time prescribed for marriage. The ceremony is optional, in the sense that its omission does not vitiate the main nuptial rite. Accordingly it does sometimes happen that it is omitted for want of time. The language of the aforementioned ritual contemplates the performance of the *Vág-dána* ceremony as com-

plete by itself in one sense, although it is no doubt an accessory of the main rite. The requests and promises for constancy, and the benedictions for fulfilment of the promise, which occur in the *Vág-dána* ritual, would be all unmeaning, if the nuptial rite were to follow close on its heels as it now does. The provisions of law for breaking the contract in the interval between the *Vág-dána* (betrothal) and the *Viváha* (marriage), which are met with in Smritis, would also be unintelligible, except on the supposition that the performance of the two ceremonies, at intervals even of years, was contemplated. My friend, Mr. Javerilál U. Yájñik, whom I consulted in respect of the practice of Gujrath on this subject, informs me that the interval between the two ceremonies in question is not unfrequently four or five years even among Bráhmaṇas, and that, under certain circumstances, withdrawal from the promise is permitted, although the caste attaches to such a withdrawal a certain amount of blame. The abandonment of this custom in Mahárásḥtra in favour of a coalition of the two ceremonies has not been productive of unmixed good. The doctrine of *Pratikúla* (literally 'unfavourable') has had much to do in bringing about this change. The doctrine consists in the belief that if, after a marriage is resolved upon (*Vágniśchaya* [16]), any relative of the bride or bridegroom die, then such death should be taken to indicate the unhappy future of the proposed alliance, and the marriage should be broken off. It was thought that the untoward occurrence foreboded either the death of the bridegroom or the barrenness of the bride.

I attribute the introduction of this belief into the marriage ritual to the influence which astrology in time began to exercise in moulding and changing domestic ceremonies, because I find no trace of this *pratikúla*, in Manu, Yájñavalkya, or

[16] The *Dharma-Sindhu* says :—" *Vagniśchaya* is of two kinds, Vedic (*Vaidika*) and popular (*Laukika*). The first consists of the ceremony of *Vág-dána* and the second is the fixing of the time of marriage, the settlement of the dowry and other expenditure on both sides, and the exchange of betel-nut in token of approval of the proposed arrangements."

even in Ásvaláyana,[17] in whose time the marriage-rite had already absorbed so much leaven of customary rites that, in one of his *Sútras* (rules) on this subject, he had to admit the existence of extreme differen... ...rmalities of marriage prevailing in different tribes, ...cognise the validity of marriages perf... ...oms by enjoining adher... ...referred to[18] by Ka... ...*alása*, *Jyotishára*, ... the *Rishis* quo... The first d... Manu's I... author of... cannot c... as a *dh*... Smriti-... he ... more or

instances, in which evil prognostications in marriage by the death of relations are disregarded in the present day, are not few; and in such cases even the prescribed *Sánti* and gift are seldom performed. There, however, seems to be no doubt, that the amalgamation of the two ceremonies of marriage took place at a time when the *Pratikúla* had a stronger hold than now. To increase the interval between the two ceremonies was to increase the chances of the doctrine of *Pratikúla* obtaining a scope for its operation. The easiest way to obviate the chances of a good alliance being lost, was to reduce the interval, and the maximum of such reduction was reached when a complete amalgamation had taken place. The effect of this step, however, has been the abandonment of some of the commandments of ancient Rishis, in obedience to a belief, which is admittedly of no binding force, and which paved the way for the custom of early marriage in the case of girls, which, all things considered, is of doubtful utility. It seems to me that the evils of early marriage and the evils of late marriage were both present to the minds of the ancient Rishis; and they solved the difficulty of striking a balance between them, by a sort of compromise, in directing that marriages of females should, as far as possible, not be postponed beyond puberty, and in splitting the nuptial ceremony into two parts and annexing different consequences to each. Although so many centuries have elapsed since their time, I do not think the question of early or late marriages is yet one of those about which there may not exist an honest difference of opinion. It will be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the relative merits of the two sides of the question, and I shall accordingly conclude my observations under the present head with the remark that the solution of the ancient Rishis, if not the most satisfactory, has at least much to be said in its favour that is entitled to consideration.

IV. Legal Aspect.

I now come to the fourth head of my subject, viz., the nature and the legal consequences of the ceremony. As the phrase imports, *Vág-dána* is a gift of the bride by her elders by word of mouth; but it is substantially a contract between the guardians or relatives of the bride and the bridegroom, stipulating that their marriage shall take place at some future time. That an executory contract of marriage between the bride and the bridegroom should assume the form of a verbal gift by the seniors of the bride, might perplex those who may not be aware that the Hindu Law gives the father property in his children.[20] The constitution of the Hindu family is analogous to that of the Roman family, wherein it was only the *paterfamilias* who was *sui juris*, his children having no will independently of him.[21] Nilakantha, the author of the *Vyavahára-Mayúkha*, has, indeed, attempted in modern times to question the correctness of this doctrine, not improbably under the influence of ideas which prevail at the present day in other countries.[22] But so far as I am aware, he stands alone against an array of authors of recognised ability who maintain the contrary.[23]

Nor is Nilakantha's reasoning on this point particularly convincing. The difference, however, is immaterial in reference to the present question, inasmuch as the position of the wife has been recognised on all hands to be that of a friend on terms of equality with the husband in all religious, social and conjugal matters.[24] Accordingly, the particular form of gift and acceptance, in which the rite takes place among Hindus, cannot

[20] See Vasishthá text, at page 57 of Mandlik's translation of the *Vyavahara Mayukha*.

[21] Sandar's Introduction to the *Institutes of Justinian*, § 40.

[22] See Mandlik's Translation of the *Vyavahara Mayukha*, p. 35, ll. 32, 33 and p. 122, ll. 19 to 26.

[23] Vijñáneśvaras gloss on Yájñavalkya, ch. II. v. 175; Sarkar's Translation of the *Viramitrodaya*, p. 65; the *Nirnaya Sindhu Parichchheda* II. under the topic of 'Adoption.'

[24] See Mandlik's, *Hindu Law*, p. 399, and the authorities collected in note (4).

lead to any inferences as to the position, which the Hindu woman occupies in the husband's family. Other nations furnish instances of marriage-customs, which show that individual liberty of the bride after marriage is consistent with nuptial ceremonies implying either her gift or sale. The usual form of marriage under the Roman Law was *coemptio*,[25] and the custom of throwing the wedding shoe, which still prevails in England and Scotland and some other countries in Europe, is looked upon as a relic of the Jewish custom, whereby the father of the bride was supposed to give up his dominion over his daughter in favour of the bridegroom.[26]

The effect of the performance of the *Vág-dána* rite was to create a contract, which was ordinarily binding on the bridal pair. But like all contracts, this was considered revocable under certain circumstances. Where betrothal is practised separately from marriage, the contract entered into by the performance of the ceremony could not wantonly be broken, and a certain amount of blame attached to those who broke it. But this could be predicated in the case of retreat from a contract of any kind whatsoever. Manu holds up, as worthy of blame, the infraction of the contract of betrothal, because it implies a departure from truth.[27] The really important question to consider is, whether, as a matter of law, the recision of this contract will invalidate the subsequent marriage of the bride. The reply to this question, as given by Kamalákara in his *Nirṇayasindhu* and Gopínáthabhaṭṭa in his *Samskáraratna-málá*, is that no such disability exists. They base their reply upon texts, which mention the circumstances justifying an abandonment of the contract. The sum and substance of those texts is, that a bride, even after betrothal to one bridegroom, may be given in marriage to another, if the bridegroom selected has disappeared for three years, or is found

[25] Sandar's Introduction to the *Institutes of Justinian*, § 46.
[26] Rev. Dr. Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, p. 816.
[27] Manu chap. ix., v. 71.

to be of low origin or of bad habits, or to have become outcast or a renegade from his religion, or to be afflicted with epilepsy, leprosy, or insanity, or to be impotent, foolish, without means of livelihood, disinclined to marry, or retired from the world, or to have taken up residence in a distant land. Yájñavalkya says that a bridegroom already selected may be given up in favour of another better circumstanced.[28] His commentator Vijñánesvara narrows down the wide scope of this provision, by confining it to the case of the first bridegroom being ineligible owing to defects. Even after the adoption of this narrow construction, it seems to me that no reasonable ground for rescission of the contract can be conceived, which is not already included in the above lists of justifying causes. If the bridegroom happen to die after betrothal, the bride is to be considered as a *kanyá* (a virgin) and may be married to another.[29] Even where the bridegroom may have paid *Śulka* (bride's purchase), he may be superseded under the above circumstances after return of the things received. A bride might be similarly rejected by the bridegroom, if it turned out that her father had practised fraud by concealing her defects, or if she were found to be afflicted with incurable and hereditary disease, or were not a virgin, were unmannerly, or loved another.[30] It will thus be found that practically both parties were free to recede from the contract, wherever that was desirable, and all that was prohibited was the wanton setting aside of the contract. It was, indeed, declared that a wanton attempt to back out of the contract of

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[28] Yájnavalkya Smriti, ch. I., v. 65

[29] Kamalákara in his *Nirnayasindhú parichchheda* II., first half, observes as follows:—"In the event of the bridegroom's death after betrothal, Aparárka and the Smriti Chandriká, quoting Vasishtha say—'If after a gift by water and word of mouth, the bridegroom die, the bride is not [to be regarded as] married by sacred texts [*Mantra*], and is indeed a virgin (*Kumári*) belonging to the father.'"

[30] See Manu, ch. IX vv 72 and 73, and Narada's text quoted by Gopínáth bhatta in the *Sanesára ratna-malá*.

betrothal was to be punished by the king with the punishment due to a thief';[31] but it is doubtful whether enforcement of this contract ever took place beyond an alternative award of damages, even when caste customs were attended to by courts more than they now are.[32] There seems no hardship in an enforcement of the contract to this extent, where no sufficient ground for retraction can be shewn. The Indian legislature, however, has now declared contracts of betrothal as unenforceable.[33] But the ban of society, in the event of proved wantonness, will still continue to operate as a deterrent more powerful than the sentence of a civil or a criminal tribunal. About the revocable nature of a mere betrothal even under the Hindu Law, there remains not a shadow of a doubt. Gopínáthabhaṭṭa in his *Samskáraratna-málá* cites a text from Nárada which makes any inference in this matter unnecessary. The text when translated runs thus:—"Before cohabitation of man and wife, betrothal takes place; after betrothal the grasping of the hand (*Páṇigrahaṇa*), and then cohabitation. Thus is this [transaction of marriage] threefold. Of these, betrothal is regarded as revocable (*aniyata*), if defects are discovered. This feature it is which distinguishes betrothal from marriage proper, which once effected is indissoluble, except where custom has permitted a divorce in particular castes. *Saptapadí*, or walking of seven steps together round the altar of the domestic fire, concludes the nuptial ceremonies, and constitutes indissolubly the relation of husband and wife.[34] But betrothal is not an essential part of the ceremony of marriage, and may, as I have said before, take place several years before the actual marriage without affecting the bride's maidenhood. Sir Thomas Strange has committed a strange oversight of treating betrothal

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[31] Yájnvalkya I. v. 65.

[32] Borrodaile's Report, vol I., pp. 138, 353; vol II. pp. 432, 528 and 680.

[33] The Specific Relief Act (Act I. of 1877), section 21, clause *b*, illustration.

[34] Manu, ch. VIII, v. 227.

as part of the marriage ceremony.[35] May the mistake have arisen from regarding as synonymous a betrothal and the pledging of troth, as Mr. Mayne seems to suggest?[36] The latter act is, indeed, performed at the marriage, which then becomes indissoluble. Mr. Grady copies the above mistake and declares that betrothal is absolute marriage.[37] It is the gift of the bride, the recitation of Vedic texts, the joining of hands, and the walking of seven steps, which alone create the conjugal relationship in the eye of the law. The above account will also show that it is an inaccurate extension to the whole of what is true of only of a part, to call the Hindu marriage a mere contract. When completed, it is essentially a sacrament[38] and it is *only* in its stage of betrothal that it may properly be called a contract. Inattention to this point has led some earnest enquirers on this subject to question the validity of Hindu marriages effected before the age of consent. Starting with the wrong hypothesis of the Hindu marriage being contractual, they naturally assert the illegality of *marriages* effected before the years of discretion on the ground of want of consent. I cannot enter into the question fully here; because the subject I am concerned with to-day is betrothal and not marriage proper. Suffice it to observe, that such a contention is neither countenanced by the Hindu Law, nor by the British Indian legislature, which expressly saves the transaction of marriage from the operation of the Indian Majority Act (IX. of 1875).

The last matter demanding notice is the fact that the consent requisite in a contract of betrothal is that of the parents or elders, and not that of the bride or the bridegroom. This need not excite surprise, when it is remembered that even in countries where the range of status is being gradually

[35] Sir Thomas Strange's *Elements of Hindu Law*, p. 37.
[36] Mayne's *Hindu Law*, § 88.
[37] Grady's *Treatise on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*, p. 7.
[38] Manu, ch. II., v. 67; Colebrooke's *Digest*, Book V, 134, notes.

must, therefore, be sought for elsewhere. It would appear that it was the ignorance and luxury of the laity which were mainly, if not exclusively, at the bottom of the pernicious change.

In conclusion, I would exhort my fellow-workers here and elsewhere in pursuit of the knowledge of Man, more particularly of other races, to follow up the subject in reference to their own customs, so as to furnish materials for a comparative study of marriage-customs all over the world.

Discussion.

The Hon'ble Kashinath Trimbak Telang stated that he agreed with most of Mr. Athalye's explanations of the symbolical observances connected with the rite of betrothal. He concurred with Mr. Athalye in thinking that it was erroneous to attribute the introduction of that symbolism to the influence of the priestly class, and that originally it had a purpose to serve. But he thought that all symbolical observances ceased to be properly understood after a time, and that, accordingly, their preservation, after they had lost their original significance, had not much justification. As regards the gift, of the bride by her father, he thought that the story of Sávitrí's marriage, as narrated in the *Mahábhárata*, indicated a growing change in the original custom; for the ceremony observed at her marriage exemplified both a gift of the daughter by the father, and a selection of the husband by the bride. As regarded the change of custom noted by Mr. Athalye under which the bride's [illegible]

old custom of the bridegroom or his relations making a request for a gift of the bride had not fallen into desuetude. He thought it not unlikely that the custom came to be changed in that way during the period when India was exposed to repeated invasions by the Mahomedans, and when the honour of maidens was not very tenderly regarded by the lawless followers of the invaders. Under such circumstances, it was only natural that fathers should be anxious to see their daughters married as early as possible.

Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh was inclined to attribute the lowering of the age of marriage, in the case of females, to the conclave of sages at the court of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, who deprived females of the privilege of

going through the ceremony of *Maunjibandhana* in the present *Kali Yuga*, and declared that in their case marriage should stand in lieu of the aforesaid rite. The effect of that alteration was to make marriage indispensable in the case of females, while it remained optional in the case of males. That state of things naturally led to fathers of daughters themselves opening negotiations of marriage, instead of waiting for a request on behalf of the bridegroom.

The PRESIDENT thought that the explanation, suggested by the writer, of the use of rice and cocoanuts at the ceremony of betrothal was somewhat fanciful. Among the members of the twice-born castes, who were vegetarians, fruit and vegetables would naturally be used as offerings in their religious rites. Such offerings had gradually superseded the animal sacrifices of ancient times. The cocoanut appeared to be offered in modern Hindu worship in substitution of human victims, on account of its resemblance to the human head. In certain Hindu families of the Panjab, it was customary for a bridegroom, at the marriage ceremony, to cut off the head of a human figure made of dough, with a knife supplied by the bride's family. That pointed to the fact that human sacrifice had at one time been performed at Hindu marriages. He did not, however, wish to suggest that the offering of cocoanuts mentioned by Mr. Athalye was necessarily a symbolical representation of the human victim slain in early days.

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, held on Friday, the 10th of September, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following paper was then read by the author:—

On *the* Habits *of a* Jain Ascetic.

By Moreshvar Gopál Deshmukh, B.Sc., B.A., M.D.

Before entering on the subject of this evening's paper, I beg to direct your attention to the doctrine and principles of the Jain religion; for, from a consideration of these, the habits of the ascetics of the sect will be better explained and understood.

A Jain is an atheist in a sense. If you ask a Jain if he believes in the existence of God, he will say 'yes.' If you ask him, further, if he believes in the existence of only one such being, he will say 'no.' "There are," he will add, "a number of such beings. The world is very old, and many souls have attained a stage quite near perfection. All souls are capable of being perfected by a series of lives of good actions. You and I can become so, if we please." Thus, a Jain believes in the existence of a number of perfect beings, free from all ignorance and pain, and continuing eternally in this same condition. Such a state of existence they call *moksha*, or final liberation. This is not exactly the *nirváṇa* of the Bauddhas, though much like it. The Jains believe in the existence of beings of various grades of development, filling the interval between perfect beings and human souls. The aim of existence, which a Jain places before himself, is to rise in this scale of development. The only means of doing this is one's own good actions, joined to worship of the saints that preached this religion and laid down rules for good conduct in life. The saints thus worshipped are twenty-four in number, and are called *tírthankaras*. All the Jain temples in India, so renowned for their number, magnitude and architectural beauty, are dedicated to one or more of these saints; the last two, named Párśvanátha (popularly called Párasnáth) and Máhavíra svámin, being the most favoured. The Jains do not believe in the auth

or the meritorious character of the ceremonial enjoined by the Vedas. The Jains, therefore, are styled heretics by the Bráhmanas. The Jains believe that the world is without a beginning, and has had no Creator; that the souls migrate from one life into another, higher or lower, according to the degree of goodness of the actions performed in this life; and that it ordinarily requires innumerable births and deaths before a being is in a fair way towards perfection.

Ante-Puránic Bráhmanism, or the purely Vedic religion, is essentially a religion of sacrifices. The Vedas do not pay reverence to, or enjoin worship of any human being. There was no idolatry, in the ordinary sense of the term, during the Vedic times. All ceremony was in connection with sacrifices. But Vedic sacrifices involved injury to animal life, and this was repugnant to the Jain faith. The Jains, therefore, rejected the performance of sacrifices, and instituted the worship of images of human beings. This change did not sweep away ceremonial observances altogether. All that was done was the substitution of another kind of ceremonial in place of the Vedic one; as if symbolism was an inseparable accident of a religion,—as if every religious system must have something gross, something tangible, something attractive, to keep the masses attached to the pure and abstract principles of faith and philosophy, that form the soul and essence of that religion. Thus, when idol-worship was substituted for sacrificial performances as the symbolistic religion for the masses, and when it was found that, at a period of growing disgust of injury to animal life, diffused through the masses by Jain preachings, the idol-worship tended to be more popular and to attract more followers, the Brahmanas, with the keen eye of the shepherd for his fold, at once saw that the Jain symbolism must be adopted into their own religious polity. In the absence of any precise data to guide one in forming a chronological theory, it may not appear too improbable for belief that idol-worship was taken by the Hindus from the Jains, or, rather, was

forced upon them by their own teachers for fear of their being led away into the rival fold. Great personages were not hard to find, when they had to be found. Their merits were extolled in highly eulogistic terms, and the masses were exhorted to worship them with all the *éclat* and ceremony that imagination could invent. Thus, Ráma and Krishṇa came to be put forward, as rival candidates of Párasnáth and Mahávira Svámí of the Jains, for the homage of the millions of India.

M. A. Barth appears to advance a somewhat similar view. When speaking of the disappearance of Buddhism from India and the rise of neo-Brahminic sects, he says that, over against the figure of Buddha, they set figures, less perfect doubtless, but quite as personal, quite as capable of stirring up a passionate devotion of legendary deities such as Mahádeva, Krishṇa and Ráma, to say nothing of their goddesses,' 'that they knew at least as well as it how to appeal to the senses with their temples, their images, their pompous and stagy festivals.'[1] It is probable that Mahádeva, Krishṇa, and Ráma existed as legendary heroes in the national literature for a long time before they were enshrined and worshipped. It is not improbable that this deification occurred after the Jain and Buddhistic institutions of idolatrous worship. Both according to the Brahminic and Jain traditions, Jainism appears to be a sect that had its origin in remote antiquity. The Jains trace it to Rishabha-deva, and the *Bhágavata Purána* appears to lend some colour to their statement.[2] This Rishabha-deva is, according to the Puranic traditions, far anterior to the Bráhmanic gods to whom temples are dedicated. In the *Deví Bhágavata*, it is distinctly mentioned that Jainism was first taught by Brihaspati in the time of Prahráda.[3] Now this period is, according to the Puranic traditions, far anterior even

[1] Barth's Religions of India, English translation, by Rev. J. Wood, Ed. 1882, p. 138.

[2] V. 5, 28.

[3] IV. 13, 53—56.

to that, in which Ráma and Krishṇa flourished, and must be far more so to that, in which they came to be worshipped. Again, traces of idolatrous worship are hard to be found in the epic of the *Mahá Bhárata*, while the sacrificial performances are alluded to every now and then. At least this much is true, that, in the *Mahá Bhárata*, references to temples dedicated to the images of gods and to the worship of those images are very rare; and, when compared with the abundance of such references in other Purans, like the *Vishnu*, *Skanda* and *Shiva* Purans, it is patent that a great change was effected during this period in the symbolistic religion of the Vedic Hindus. It does not, therefore, appear unreasonable to conclude that idol-worship was not an established practice of the Brahmánic religion down to the time when the great epic was written, and that Jainism, of which idol-worship is the only symbolistic practice, was being taught, as is admitted even by Bráhmaṇa authors, long before the era of the *Mahá Bhárata*. Colebrooke has, indeed, propounded a similar theory, to the effect that the Shaiva and Vaishnava sects must be of a later date than the Jain and Buddhistic sects. But he puts it forth with great diffidence, calls it a mere guess, and assigns no grounds for it.[4] Considerations, such as I have above stated, will show that his guess was not very wide of the mark.

Ahimsá, or "No injury to life," is the distinctive feature of Jainism. It is the keystone of their faith and philosophy. It is for this that they denounced sacrificial performances, and disowned Vedas that seemed to enjoin them. This principle, firmly inculcated, has been the cause of remoulding the life of a whole community, and of indirectly influencing, to a great extent, the life of the whole Indian nation. It has given rise to peculiar practices amongst the Jains, and especially amongst ascetics of that sect, which I shall presently describe. The

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4 Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Ed. 1873. Vol. III. p. 177.

Bauddhas do not, in their faith and religious practices, differ much from the Jains. The Jains believe that Buddhism is only an offshoot of Jainism. One of the disciples of Máhavíra Svámí, the last or the 24th *tirthankara*, was Gautama. This Gautama the Jains believe to be identical with Gautama Buddha, the renowned founder of Buddhism. They believe that, while Mahávíra Svámí was preaching or establishing Jainism in India, his disciple Gautama travelled abroad, and did the same in countries beyond India. Thus, Gautama Buddha's religion came to be styled Buddhism and Mahávíra Svámí's Jainism. Professor Wilson gives reasons for believing that Gautama, the disciple of Mahávíra, and Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, must have been different personages.[5] The Jains state that, from their religious works, Mahávíra Svámí appears to have lived about five centuries before the Samvat era, or six centuries before the Christian era. This is putting Mahávíra Svámí's date only about a few years before that of Gautama Buddha. I am not, at present, prepared to say whether this computation of the Jains is correct or not. Nevertheless, it is a fact worthy of remark, that, while Jainism owns millions of followers in India, Buddhism has literally no followers throughout that peninsula, and has hundreds of millions of followers outside its limits. This is consistent with the theory that Buddhism is an offshoot of Jainism, or, rather, a modified form of the same, adapted to the mental and moral condition of the non-Indian races. The Buddhistic missionaries, in whatever climes they wandered, always pointed out India as the mother-land of the religion they preached, and made their hearers think of that country with veneration as the home of the founder and propagator of their religion. These missionaries did not spend their efforts on the Jains of India, but worked with untiring energy among the neighbouring races. Such a state of things is consistent with the Jain

[5] Wilson's Religious Sects of the Hindus, Ed. 1861, Vol. I. pp 323 ff.

theory that, all Buddhistic missionaries were originally Jains, and that, what they preached was called Buddhism only because the great missionary from India was called Buddha, (*i.e.* the wise), though himself only a Jain. This is the Jain theory of the relation of Buddhism to Jainism. It must be mentioned here, that Professor Wilson adduces arguments to show that Jainism is not a religion of great antiquity; that Buddhism must have appeared first; and that, while it spread and gained millions of followers in countries beyond India, it lost its hold there, and was gradually replaced by Jainism.[6] The arguments, it must be remarked, are neither convincing, nor very satisfactory, as the author himself admits. To me it seems probable that, at a very early period, Jainism and Buddhism were not distinct sects, or religions, but only slightly different schools of the same philosophy, and that, their followers were then indifferently styled by the Bráhmanas as Jains or Bauddhas. But as these doctrines crystallized, in course of time, into definite shapes of faith and ritual, they came to be called by the Bráhmanas by their respective names. While the one was largely preached to, and accepted by the non-Indian races, the Indian dissenters from the Vedic faith became followers of the other. The opening invocation, :—*Buddho jinah pâtu vah* (May Buddha Jina protect you), employed by the Jain author of the drama styled *Nágánanda* is explicable on this theory alone. The same conclusion seems to follow from the fact, that, in the *Amarakósa*, also a work written by a Jain author, Buddha and Jina appear as synonymous terms. It is worthy of note, that, in the dictionary of Hemachandra, also a Jain author, who flourished some centuries after Amarasimha, Jina and Buddha are mentioned as words applying to different sects. It must be remembered, that the authors of *Nâgânanda* and *Amarakosa* lived not later than the seventh century of the Christian era, and

6 Wilson's Religious Sects of the Hindus, Ed. 1861, Vol. I. pp. 323 ff.

that, till that time, Jina and Buddha were synonymous terms. Hemachandra, however, lived in the eleventh century, by which time the separation of the two sects was complete. As Bauddhas do not worship the *tirthankaras* of the Jains, so the latter do not worship the Buddhas of the former. Living amongst the Brahmanical Hindus, the Jains had to be more Brahmanical in their beliefs than the Bauddhas. The Jains believe in the existence of gods and demons, of heavens and hells. They accept the authority of the Vedas, whenever they find Vedic teachings confirming their own views. They engage Bráhmanas as priests in their temples, and pay reverence to various gods of the Hindu mythology, though, in a lesser degree than to their *tirthankaras*. When a considerable differentiation was thus effected by time, as well as by political reasons, the Jains and Bauddhas came to look upon each other with rivalry and even hatred, and tried to replace each other wherever they could. On this theory, the various historical and traditional instances, cited by Professor Wilson, of Jains replacing Buddhistic influence in the various states of Southern India and Gujaràth, are easily explicable, without necessitating the adoption of the theory that the Jains came after the Bauddhas.[7] The latest discovery of Dr. G. Bühler and Professor Jacobi, tending to confirm the Jain legend of Mahávíra Svámí, the last of the *Tirthankaras*, and thus showing that he was a real personage that flourished at about the same time as Gautama Buddha, would, if strengthened by further discoveries in the same direction from Páli manuscripts, go a great way towards confirming the Jain theory of the antiquity of their faith. Professor Wilson's argument against the antiquity of Jainism, when put concisely, amounts to saying that, because Jainism is seen to supersede Buddhism in the twelfth century in some parts of India, Jainism must be of a later date than

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[7] Ibid.

Buddhism. This argument cannot by itself be conclusive; for, in many parts of India, Brahmanism superseded Buddhism, and yet it is still admitted to be of an undoubtedly anterior date. His argument, however, gains strength only when it is coupled with his other statement that there was no positive evidence in favour of the prior existence of Jainism. But if the Jain legend of Mahávíra Svámí, which the learned Professor rejected as unreliable, be now found to be true, as asserted by Dr. Bühler, then the least that could be said is, that the whole question remains an open one.

The principal divisions of the Jains are the *Digambaras* and *Śvetámbaras*. In each division, there are two orders, viz., the clerical and the lay, the teachers and the followers, the ascetic and the secular, or *sádhus* or *yatis* and *śrâvakas*. One division of the Jains is called the *Digambara* because the ascetics belonging to this division are directed to wear no clothes, so as to be *digambara* (*i.e.* Sky-clad.) Females are not admitted into the ascetic order of this division. As Professor Wilson remarks, these ascetics do not, in the present day, go about naked, but wear coloured clothes, in contra-distinction to the ascetic garments of the other principal division of the Jains, the *Śvetámbara*.[8] The *Śvetámbaras*, or the white-robed, are so called because the ascetics of this division wear white garments only. This division admits females into its clerical order. The *Digambaras* and the *Śvetámbaras* differ in some of the minor details of their religious beliefs, but agree in the principal doctrines of Jainism, such as the disbelief in the authority of the Vedas; the rejection of the meritorious character of Vedic ceremonial; the disregard of the distinctions of castes; and the belief in the worship of saints, and in the merits of one's own actions as the only means of attaining salvation or *moksha*. Of the two divisions, the *Śvetámbaras*, are by far the more numerous in the Bombay presidency. The *Śvetámbaras* are again

[8] Id. Vol. I. p. 339.

divided into eighty-four different sects (*Sampradáyas* or *Gachchhas*). One of these, named *Dhundia*, so materially differs from all the others that, in contradistinction to it, the remaining sects are given the common appellation of *Samvegins* (followers of the usual practices). The *Dhundia*, is as the term implies, in essence an eclectic sect. It is said that there are, in all, forty-five chief works consulted by the Jains as authorities in their religious practices. But Launká, the founder of the *Dhundia* sect, rejected thirteen out of these as not worthy of the position thus accorded to them. Launká had, in the beginning, twenty-two followers only; and, on that account, the sect is sometimes called *Báristolia* (followers of the twenty-two). The doctrine of abstaining from doing harm or injury to all kind of life, especially animal life, is developed to a great—one is almost tempted to say a ridiculous—extent, in the practices of the Jain ascetic, especially of the *Dhundia* sect. The Jain ascetic had, in imagination, anticipated the nineteenth century researches of the microscope, and had learnt to believe that the air and the water about him were full of animal life. He could, therefore, neither breathe the air nor drink water without swallowing their numerous inhabitants. To prevent that, the *Dhundia* ascetic ties a piece of fine white cloth on to his nose, and wears it there always, every day and every hour of his whole life. He thus filters his air through the piece of cloth and takes it in, thus freed from animal life. This piece of cloth is not to be washed, for, by so doing, there is the danger of injuring or destroying animal life accumulated in the fibres of the cloth. This piece of cloth, therefore, when too dirty, must be torn up and cast away and another worn in its place. The Jain ascetics, other than the *Dhundias*, carry a piece of cloth in their hands, and do not always tie it on to the nose, but use it only occasionally for the purpose. The Jain ascetic cannot drink water in its natural condition. He does not believe in the filtration of water as the efficient means of removing

invisible animalcula. He believes, with the biologist of the present day, in the boiling of water as the most effectual means of doing so. But, in this process, the living organisms are necessarily destroyed. He cannot, therefore, undertake to do it himself. Somebody else must do it for him. When, therefore, he is forced to seek the means of satisfying his thirst, he slowly and stealthily walks into the house of one of the followers of Jina, and, if he is fortunate enough to find some water already boiled he will ask for and drink some of this. But all this must be done unexpectedly. The giver of the necessary draught should not, in any way, be made aware of or led to expect the visit, lest he should boil water and keep it ready for the coming guest. Such an unhappy accident would nullify all the trouble taken in the matter. The water would be boiled for him, and the animal life therein would be injured and destroyed on his account. The ascetic, therefore, takes great care not to allow any one to guess the time and the place of his visit. He also takes the utmost care to use water as little as possible for any of the other purposes of life. For instance, he never bathes, for to do so would cause injury to the microscopic denizens of water. If he feels it absolutely necessary, he may cleanse his body by wetting and rubbing it with a wet piece of cloth; but this must be done only occasionally. The white clothes that he wears, viz., only two pieces of long-cloth, are to be worn until they are too dirty or thread-bare for any further use. They are never to be washed with water. They should be worn unwashed until they are cast away. They must be torn into small pieces and cast away in such a manner that no other person would be able to make use of them. He has an equally tender regard for life present in the vegetable kingdom. Accordingly, he cannot partake of any green or unwithered portion of plants. It is only fully-ripe grain or dried parts of plants that he can eat. They, too, must be boiled and cooked,

and this he cannot himself undertake to do. He, therefore, takes the same precautions in procuring his solid food as those which he takes in procuring his liquid food. He makes his followers, or any other Jain, do the work for him without their intending it for or referring it to him; and, when thus prepared, he takes the food without any compunction. He, therefore, does not take his meals where he puts up, but goes in search of them where he is not expected. He does this every day of his life. He takes food only once daily, drinks water that has previously been boiled, eats articles of food that have been boiled and cooked, and refrains from all such as are fresh and green and undried. The *Dhundia* ascetic does not worship the Jain gods in the usual fashion, and forbids his followers from doing so, as this worship requires the use of fresh flowers and green leaves plucked from growing trees. Thus, this sect has become strictly non-idolatrous. But its non-idolatry is only an outcome of the general principle involved in the care for life of every kind. The Jain ascetics, other than those of the *Dhundia* sect, do not themselves worship the gods in the temples, but allow the laymen to do it, declaring that, for the laity, the merit of the worship more than counterbalances the demerit of the disregard for life involved in plucking fresh leaves and flowers from growing trees. The Jain ascetic always carries in his hand a brush called *rajoharana,* with which he sweeps the ground, whereon he is about to put his foot, or to squat, or to lie down. He is seen walking with great care in the streets, with his eyes towards the ground, trying his utmost not to trample under foot any small insect, and using his brush now and then to sweep away any insects lying in his way. The *rajoharana* is a small wooden stick, to the end of which is affixed a switch, consisting of one thousand threads of wool. The Jain ascetic, on entering the order, gets all the hair on his scalp, face, and chin, plucked out. They are not to be shaved. This, in itself, is a test of his endurance of pain. Through life, he is never to shave. Either t[illegible] may be kept

untouched and unwashed, or the plucking operation may be gone through again. In exceptional cases, it is allowed to be cut short with a pair of scissors. According to the Jain philosophy, all the five elements, viz., space, air, water, fire and earth, are full of life. The Jain ascetic, therefore, believes it sinful either to kindle or to extinguish fire. The place of residence of Jain ascetics is never to be illumined with any kind of artificial light. He is not justified in kindling fire for cooking or for any other purpose. When he obtains his food from a Jain house, it must not have been in contact with fire; for if it were, it would not be acceptable to him. The Jain ascetic is a great person for fasting; he fasts for days together. Apparently incredulous accounts of these fastings are given. It would be interesting to collect authentic information on this subject, and place it before the Society.

Such is the life actually led by a number of persons in Bombay at the present day. The history of the doctrine of "No injury to life," as exhibited in the life of Jain ascetics, fairly leads to the conclusion that there is no abstract principle of morality, which, if practised without any limitation and pursued to all its logical consequences, would not pave the way for practices in daily life, ludicrous to every one not a follower of the same. What theoretical principle of morality can be more unobjectionable—nay, more commendable—than that animal life should be regarded as sacred by man? And yet it is that very principle, which has landed the Jains, its uncompromising followers, into a position, which is as ridiculous as it is uncomfortable. The result is due to a failure to recognize the truth that phenomena in the moral world are as much a compound product of the operations of more forces than one, as those in the political or social world. No ethical principle, however noble and pure, enjoys the privilege of being left free to operate, untrammelled by the action of other similar principles; and accordingly the claim of moral statics to be regarded as a science cannot be disputed. It is to be hoped that,

in the present impetuous march of physical science, ethics will not be neglected; and that it will attract investigators into its cause as earnest as those that are now to be found labouring in the cause of physical phenomena.*

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, held on Wednesday, the 22nd of September, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Junagad; H. H. the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar; H. H. the Thakor Saheb of Bhaunagar; H. H. the Thakor Saheb of Palitana; H. H. the Thakor Saheb of Morvi; H. H. the Thakor Saheb of Rajkot; Raja Saheb Maharana Shri Narain Devji of Dharampur; Colonel C. Wodehouse, Political Agent, Rajkot; Rao Bahadur Ganapatrao Narayen Laud, Chief Karbhari of Wankaner; Azam Maganlal Bapubhai, Dewan of Jamnagar; Ramchandra Gopal Deshmukh, Baroda; Lakshman Gopal Deshmukh, Satara; Chandika Venkata Juggarao, Madras; Rao Bahadur Jugjeewundas Khooshaldas, Surat; Rao Saheb Mahipatram Rupram Nilkant, Ahmedabad; Sirdar Diler-ud-Daula Bahadur, C. I. E., Hyderabad, Deccan; Joseph Baer, Frankfort-on [illegible] any; Vazir Shaik Bavdin, Junagad.

The following donations were announced, and thanks voted to the respective donors :—

TO THE MUSEUM.

From MR. J. D. INVERARITY.—Photograph of Banjaris.

TO THE SOCIETY'S FUNDS.

From HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF JUNAGAD.—Rs. 100.
From HIS HIGHNESS THE JAM SAHEB OF JAMNAGAR.—Rs. 50.
From HIS HIGHNESS THE THAKOR SAHEB OF BHAUNAGAR.—Rs. 40.

The President exhibited two ancient marble images of Jain Buddhas from Benares; a photograph by Professor Oppert of a colossal Jain Buddha from Mysore; a native painting of Jagannátha, Balaráma and Subhadrá from Purí; and three ancient brass idols of Vithobá and his two wives, Rukminí and Satyabhámá. He called attention to the singular resemblance in form, existing between Jagannátha and the Buddhist symbol of Dharma. That fact, he stated, had led General Cunningham, in his work entitled "The Bhilsá Topes," to attribute a Buddhist origin to Jagannátha. The President also referred to the reasons given by that author for believing that the modern Hindu Triad, consisting of Vithobá, Rukminí and Satyabhámá, were likewise traceable to a Buddhist source. Those, he thought, were circumstances which had an important bearing on the question raised by Dr. M. G. Deshmukh in his Paper, as to the place occupied by Buddhism in the religious development of India.

The following paper was then read by the author:—

On Demonolatry in Southern India.

By The Rt. Rev. R. Caldwell, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Tinnevelly.

It is not in Tinnevelly only, nor in Southern India only, that demons, devils or evil spirits are regarded with superstitious fear. All over India, there are traces of that belief in devils and dread of the evils they inflict, which in some districts developed into systematic devil-worship. This worship of devils is found in all the forest and mountain fastnesses in Central India, and also amongst the ruder and poorer classes, as well as amongst a portion of the middle classes in all the southern districts, especially in the districts south of Trichinopoly, *i.e.* in Madura and Tinnevelly on the eastern and in Travancore on the western side of the Ghats; and it has also made its appearance in Ceylon, even amongst the Buddhists, whither probably it was carried from Tinnevelly. Tinnevelly was so much the home of demon-worship, at one time, that it came to be regarded by Europeans as one of the special peculiarities of the district; but it can no longer claim this unenviable distinction, for, owing to the spread of Christianity and education, most of the people in Tinnevelly are now ashamed of their old demonism, and the wild orgies of devil-worship may almost be regarded as things of the past. The prevalence of this fear of demons throughout India, and its cause, are thus stated by Sir Monier Monier-Williams.[1] The universal prevalence of the worship of tutelary deities, among the great mass of the population in India, is the result of a perpetual dread of evil demons—a dread which haunts Hindus of all ranks and stations, from the highest to the lowest; with the exception of those fortunate persons, whom a European education has delivered from

[1] Monier-Williams' *Religious Thought and Life in India*; Vol. I. p. 230

the dominion of superstitious ideas. In fact, a belief in every kind of demoniacal influence has always been, from the earliest times, an essential ingredient in Hindu religious thought. The idea, probably, had its origin in the supposed peopling of the air by spiritual beings, the personifications, or companions of storm and tempest. Certainly no one who has ever been brought into close contact with the Hindus in their own country, can doubt the fact that the worship of at least ninety per cent. of the people of India, in the present day, is a worship of fear. Not that the existence of good deities, presided over by one Supreme Being, is doubted; but that these deities are believed to be too absolutely good to need propitiation; just as, in ancient histories of the Slave races, we are told that they believed in a white and a black god, but paid adoration to the last alone, having, as they supposed, nothing to apprehend from the beneficence of the first, or white divinity. The simple truth is, that evil of all kinds, difficulties, dangers, and disasters, famines, diseases, pestilences and death, are thought, by an ordinary Hindu, to proceed from demons, or more properly speaking, from devils, and from devils alone. These malignant beings are held to possess varying degrees of rank, power and malevolence. Some aim at destroying the entire world, and threaten the sovereignty of the gods themselves. Others delight in killing men, women and children, out of a mere thirst for human blood. Others, again, take a mere mischievous pleasure in tormenting, or revel in the infliction of sickness, injury and misfortune. All make it their business to mar or impede the progress of good works and useful undertakings.

The writer, in describing the prevalence of this system, might have gone further and have shown how the same system, locally called Shamanism, prevailed all over Upper Asia and on the south-western confines of China, according to the testimony of Russian travellers and of Marco Polo, prior to the dissemination of Buddhism and Mahommedanism in those regions.

Classification of Demons.

The demons worshipped in Southern India are of two kinds. There are semi-divine and semi-diabolical beings, and there are also devils properly so called.

Of the first kind, some are male divinities, some female; and the latter are always the most mischievous and the most dreaded. They are all of Saiva parentage, the males being mostly manifestations of Siva in his horrific character as destroyer, patron of demons, and dancer in the burning ground; the females being manifestations of Siva's wife in her horrific character as Kálí or Durgá. In her benevolent character she is called Umá, Satí, or Párvatí. The most popular male divinity of this class in Southern India is called, in Tamil, Aiyanár, whose chief peculiarity is, that his temple is surrounded by pottery-horses, some of them of great size, on which he is supposed to ride about the country at night. He is the Hari-Hara-putra of the Brahmans, i.e. the son of Siva and of Vishnu in the form of a female. He has to be propitiated and kept in good humour by bloody sacrifices, like all the rest of the beings of this class, male and female; but otherwise he is quite inclined to make himself useful. He is guardian of agriculture and of boundaries, and the most important temple dedicated to his honour, that I have seen, is at the boundary between Tinnevelly and Travancore, viz., at the entrance of one of the passes from Tinnevelly. The place is called after him *Aryan-kâvu* (the Aryan's guard). He is one of the preceptors of the gods, and, as such is called *Áyanár*, an honorific name for teacher, and also *Áryan* (the noble).

One of Aiyanár's most common names in the South is Sáttá, properly Sástá (the teacher), a term identical with Sástrí. This semi-divinity is little—if at all—known in the North; but the female divinities of this class are recognized, feared and worshipped in every part of India, though perhaps most systematically in Southern India. They are called village divinities, and village goddesses, but chiefly "Mothers,"

though especially unmotherly in character. The name used in Tamil is *amman*, a word which is derived from the Sanskrit *ambá* (mother), and this is regarded as more honorific and endearing than the ordinary words for "mother." Perhaps, there is no village in the South—certainly none of any respectability—which is without its *Amman-kovil* (temple to the *Amman*), and as all these *Ammans* are supposed to be forms of Kálí or Durgá, Siva's wife, they occupy a much more dignified position than the ordinary devils. Their worship is performed by a particular class of Śudra priests, called *Pandárams*. They always have temples erected to them outside the limits of the great temples and outside the village boundaries, where, as the devils have ordinarily no protection from the weather, but are worshipped under trees or in the open, with only a rude altar or obelisk of earth daubed with red ochre or whitewash or both, to mark the place which they are supposed to haunt. They are worshipped also, not by a particular order of priests, but by any votary, male or female.

Notwithstanding the superior dignity attributed to the *Ammans*, I question whether they are not, after all, more diabolical than the professed devils. Cholera and small-pox, the most dreadful of all pestilences, are inflicted by them alone; and what is specially extraordinary is, that small-pox is invariably called by the common people "the sport of the *Amman*." When a person is stricken by small-pox the expression the people use is "the *Amman* is taking her pastime over him." The technical word for small-pox, *vaisúri*, is heard in dispensaries, but rarely in the houses of the people. Mári-Amman is the special title of the cholera goddess, and *mári* means death personified. Measles are called "the little *Amman*." There is no difference between the *Ammans* and the devils in regard to their appetite for blood. They all alike delight in bloody sacrifices, and all alike require frantic dances to be performed in their honour, especially in times of pestilence. The only difference, indeed, that I can perceive between the

Ammans and the devils, consists in this, that the *Ammans* are never supposed to take up their abode in the bodies and minds of their worshippers. What is called demoniacal possession, is confined to devils properly so called.

The devils or demons, properly so called, are supposed to have a human, not a semi-divine origin. They are called *Bhutas*, *Piśáchas* and *Peys*; but, though the two former names are Sanskrit, and the last, *Pey*, may be suspected to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *preta*, a corpse, which also sometimes means a ghost, the proper names of the devils are never Sanskrit, and the worship of these local devils, though tolerated and even encouraged by the Brahmans, was not brought to the South by them, but was probably the religion of the aborigines long before the arrival of the Brahmans, or even before the arrival of their Dravidian predecessors. The element of demonology, which is contained in the Puranic system, appears to have been borrowed from this old Dravidian superstition. The Buddhists of Ceylon most probably borrowed their demonolatry from the Dravidians of the old Pándya kingdom; if so, it cannot be unreasonable to suppose that it was from the same, or a similar source, that the Brahmans borrowed the demoniacal element contained in their religion.

It appears to me, that an element of demonism, ready to receive further development, may be traced even in the *Aitareya Bráhmana* of the Rig-veda, in connection with the character attributed, and the worship offered, to Rudra, afterwards identified with Śiva. I apprehend that we have a mythical record of the adoption of the aboriginal demonolatry into the Brahmanical system, and of the object in view in this alliance, in the Puranic story of the sacrifice of Daksha. According to that story, Śiva (*i.e.* Śaiva Brahmanism) found himself unable to subdue the old elementary divinities, and to secure to himself the exclusive homage, at which he aimed, till he called in the aid of the demons (*i.e.* the demonolatry of the aborigines), and put himself at their head in the person of his *pro-re-natus* son, Vira-bhadra.

The majority of the devils are supposed to have been, originally, human beings; and the class of persons, most frequently supposed to have been transformed into devils, are those who had met with a sudden or violent death, especially if they had made *themselves dreaded in their life-time*. Devils may, in consequence, be either male or female, of low or high caste, of Hindu or foreign lineage. Their character and mode of life seem to be little, if at all, modified by differences of this nature. All are powerful, malicious and interfering; and all are desirous of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances. The only differences apparent are in the structure of the altar or image built to their honour; the insignia worn by their priests; the minutiæ of the ceremonies observed in their worship; the preference of the sacrifice of a goat by one, a hog by another, and a cock by a third; or in the addition of libations of ardent spirits, for which some low caste demons stipulate. As for their abode, the majority of the devils are supposed to dwell in trees; some wander to and fro, and go up and down, in uninhabited wastes; some inhabit old wells; and some skulk in shady retreats. Sometimes they take up their abode in the rude altars erected to their honour, or in houses. Some inhabit palmyra palms, the leaves of which have never been cut. Nightmare is always supposed to be caused by a demon. A demon seats himself on the chest of the sleeping person and endeavours to suffocate him.

Possession.

It often happens that a devil will take a fancy to dispossess the soul and inhabit the body of one of his votaries, in which case the personal consciousness of the possessed party ceases, and the screaming, gesticulating and pythonizing are supposed to be the demon's acts. Every malady, however trivial, is supposed, by the more superstitious, to be inflicted by a devil, and a sacrifice is necessary for its removal; but the unusual severity or continuance of any disease, or the appear-

ance of symptoms, which are not recorded in the physician's *Sástra*, are proofs of possession, of which no demonolator can entertain any doubt. The medical science of so rude a people not being very extensive, cases of unquestioned possession are of frequent occurrence. When a woman is heard to laugh and weep alternately without any adequate cause, or to shriek and look wild when no snake or wild beast can be perceived, what demonolator can suppose anything but a devil to be the cause of the mischief? The native doctor, himself a demonolator, is sent for and requested to give his advice. He brings his library with him (he can't read, but it is all safe in his memory), his "complete science of medicine, in one hundred stanzas, as revealed by the sage Agastya to his disciple, Pulastya;" but in vain he recites his prescriptions, in vain he coins hard words. As no description of hysterical complaints is contained in his authorities, what can he do but decide that a devil has taken possession of the woman, and recommend that a sacrifice be offered to him forthwith, with a cloth and a white fowl to the doctor? Sometimes the possession takes the shape of a stroke of the sun, epilepsy or catalepsy, a sudden fright, mania, or the vertigo and stupor caused by an overflow of bile; but any ordinary disease, when it seems incurable and the patient begins to waste away, is pronounced a possession.

Sometimes the friends are not desirous of expelling the evil spirit all at once, but send for music, get up a devil dance, and call upon the demon to prophesy. This is particularly the case when some member of the family has long been sick, and they are anxious to know what is to be the result of the sickness, and are wishing and waiting for a demon's visit. If they desire to expel the devil, there is no lack of moving ceremonies and powerful incantations, each of which has been tried and found successful innumerable times. If the devil should prove an obstinate one, and refuse to leave, charm they never so wisely, his retreat may generally be hastened by the vigorous application of a slipper or a broom to the shoulders of the

possessed person, the operator taking care to assist the cure by reviling him in the most scurrilous language he can think of. After a time, the demoniac loses his downcast, sullen look. He begins to get angry and to writhe about under the slippering, and at length cries out:—"I go, I go." They then ask him his name, and why he came there. He tells them he is such and such a devil, whom they have neglected ever so long, and he wants an offering; or he calls himself by the name of some deceased relative, who, as they now for the first time learn, has become a demon. As soon as the demon consents to leave, the beating ceases; and, not unfrequently, immediate preparations are made for a sacrifice, as a compensation to his feelings for the ignominy of the exorcism. The possessed person now awakes as from a sleep, and appears to have no knowledge of anything that has happened.

These possessions are not restricted to professed adherents of the Hindu religion. I have met with many cases amongst new Christians and a few amongst Christians of longer standng. Diseases of the brain and the nervous system, especially attacks of hysteria, are attended by so many extraordinary and alarming symptoms, that it is not unnatural that simple-minded people should adopt the idea of their Hindu neighbours and attribute the complaint to some demoniacal influence. Under this idea, the catechist or the native pastor is sent for, or even the European missionary, to pray over the person supposed to be possessed, and thus, to exorcise the demon. If the case is really one of hysteria, all this sympathy, of course, only aggravates the symptoms of the complaint. Whenever my advice has been sought, I have invariably found that no hysterical possession could stand before the treatment I recommended. The devil always fled before a turpentine enema!

I do not contend that real demoniacal possession never occurs where principles of evil rule, almost without opposition; and where belief in the reality and frequency of possession is so universal, it is natural to suppose that there must be some

foundation for that belief. Popular beliefs generally include a fact of some kind. My mind is open to receive evidence on the subject; and, considering the number of astonishing cases that almost every native says he has been told of by those who have seen them, I had hoped some day to witness something of the kind myself. But I have never yet had an opportunity of being present where symptoms, that seemed to me to be incapable of being explained by natural causes, were exhibited, though I have sought for such an opportunity for nearly fifty years, the greater part of the time residing in a devil-worshipping community; and this has been the experience, so far as I have heard, of all English and American missionaries.

The demons especially show their power in cases of possession; but they are frequently contented with inflicting minor injuries. Not only the failure of rain, or a blight falling on the crops, but even the accidents and diseases which befall cattle, and trivial losses in trade, are considered instances of a devil's malevolence. Sometimes, again, demons are content with frightening the timid, without doing any real harm. People hear a strange noise at night, and immediately they see a devil making his escape in the shape of a dog as large as a hyena, or a cat with eyes like two lamps. In the dusk of the evening, devils have been observed in burial or burning grounds, assuming various grotesque shapes one after another; and, at night, when their vagaries have freest scope, they are often known to ride across the country on invisible horses, or glide over marshy lands in the shape of a wandering, flickering light. In all their journeyings, they move along without touching the ground, their elevation above the ground being proportioned to their rank and importance. I have known a village deserted, and the people afraid even to remove the materials of their houses, in consequence of the terror caused by stones being thrown on their roofs at night by invisible hands. Demons more malicious still have sometimes been known, under cover of the night, to insert combustible materials under the eaves of

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thatched roofs. Even in the day-time, about the close of the hot season, when the winds fail, they may often be seen careering along in the shape of a whirlwind of dust, catching up and whisking about in their fierce play every dry stick and leaf that happens to lie in their path. This whirlwind is called "the devil's car." In short, the demons do much evil, but no good. They often cause terror, but never bestow benefits, or evince any affection for their votaries. They must be placated by sacrifice, because they are so mischievous; but there is no use in supplicating their favour. If, in any case, the hope of obtaining a benefit seem to be their votary's motive in worshipping them, further inquiry proves that it is under the supposition that the demon's malignity stands in the way of what would, otherwise, be obtained as a matter of course.

There are two particulars connected with devil worship, both of which are essential features of the system, viz., devil-dancing and the offering of bloody sacrifices; and to these I shall now refer.

Devil-Dancing.

When it is determined to offer a sacrifice to a devil, a person is appointed to act the part of priest. Devil-worship is not, like the worship of the deities—whether supreme or subordinate, whether merciful or sanguinary—appropriated to a particular order of men, but may be performed by any one who chooses. The officiating priest is styled a "devil-dancer." Usually "the head man," or one of the principal men, of the village officiates; but, sometimes, the duty is voluntarily undertaken by some devotee, male or female, who wishes to gain notoriety, or in whom the sight of the preparations has excited a sudden zeal. The officiating priest, whoever he may happen to be, is dressed for the occasion in the vestments and ornaments appropriate to the particular devil worshipped. The object in view in donning the demon's insignia is to strike terror into the imagination of the beholders. But the parti-coloured dress and grotesque ornaments, the cap and trident and jingling bells

of the performer, bear so close a resemblance to the usual adjuncts of a pantomime, that a European would find it difficult to look grave. The musical instruments, or rather the instruments of noise, chiefly used in the devil-dance, are the tom-tom, or ordinary Indian drum, and the horn, with occasionally the addition of a clarionet when the parties can afford it. But the favourite instrument, because the noisiest, is that which is called "the bow." A series of bells of various sizes is fastened to the frame of a gigantic bow; the strings are tightened so as to emit a musical note when struck, and the bow rests on a large empty brazen pot. The instrument is played on by a plectrum, and several musicians join in the performance. One strikes the string of the bow with the plectrum, another produces the bass by striking the brazen pot with his hand, and the third keeps time and improves the harmony by a pair of cymbals. As each musician kindles in his work and strives to outstrip his neighbour in the rapidity of his flourishes, and in the loudness of the tone with which he sings the accompaniment, the result is a tumult of frightful sounds, such as may be supposed to delight even a demon's ear.

When the preparations are completed, and the devil-dance is about to commence, the music is at first comparatively slow, and the dancer seems impassive and sullen; and either he stands still, or moves about in gloomy silence. Gradually, as the music becomes quicker and louder, his excitement begins to rise. Sometimes, to help him to work himself up into a frenzy, he uses medicated draughts, cuts and lacerates his flesh till the blood flows, lashes himself with a huge whip, presses a burning torch to his breast, drinks the blood which flows from his own wounds, or drinks the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapitated goat to his mouth. Then, as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells, and to dance with a quick but wild unsteady step. Suddenly, the afflatus descends. There is no mistaking that glare, or those frantic leaps. He snorts, he stares, he gyrates. The demon

has now taken bodily possession of him; and, though he retains the power of utterance and of motion, both are under the demon's control, and his separate consciousness is in abeyance.

The bystanders signalize the event by raising a long shout, attended with a peculiar vibratory noise, which is caused by the motion of the hand and tongue, or of the tongue alone. The devil-dancer is now worshipped as a present deity; and every bystander consults him respecting his disease, his wants, the welfare of his absent relatives, the offerings to be made for the accomplishment of his wishes, and, in short, respecting everything for which superhuman knowledge is supposed to be available. As the devil-dancer acts to admiration the part of a maniac, it requires some experience to enable a person to interpret his dubious or unmeaning replies, his muttered voices and uncouth gestures; but the wishes of the parties, who consult him, help them greatly to interpret his meaning.

Sometimes the devil-dance and the demoniacal clairvoyance are extemporized, especially where the mass of the people are peculiarly addicted to devil-worship, and perfectly familiar with the various stages of the process. In such cases, if a person happen to feel the commencement of the shivering fit of an ague, or the vertigo of a bilious headache, his untutored imagination teaches him to think himself possessed. He then sways his head from side to side, fixes his eyes into a stare, puts himself into a posture, and begins the maniac dance; and the bystanders run for flowers and fruit for an offering, or for a cock or goat to sacrifice to his honour.

The night is the time usually devoted to the orgies of devil-dancing; particular nights being appropriated to the worship of particular devils. And as the number of devils worshipped is, in some districts, equal to the number of the worshippers, and as every act of worship is accompanied with the din of drums and the bray of horns, the stillness of the night, especially during the prevalence of cholera, or any other epidemical disease, is frequently broken by a dismal uproar, more pain-

ful to hear on account of the associations connected with it, than on account of its unpleasant effect on the ear and nerves.

THE OFFERING OF BLOODY SACRIFICES.

One of the most important parts of the system of devil-worship is the offering of goats, fowls, &c., in sacrifice, for the purpose of appeasing the anger of the demons and inducing them to remove the calamities they have inflicted, or to abstain from inflicting the calamities they are supposed to have threatened. There is nothing very peculiar, or deserving of particular notice, in the manner in which the sacrifice is performed. The animal, generally a goat, must be a male, and must be perfectly black, in honour of Kálí, the black goddess. The animal which is to be offered in sacrifice is led to the altar of the devil-temple, adorned with red ochre and garlands of flowers. A pot of water is dashed upon it to test its acceptableness If it shakes itself, as the astonished creature can scarcely help doing, it is pronounced fit for sacrifice. Ordinarily, the animal's head is separated from its body by a single stroke of a bill-hook, the sacrifice being considered unacceptable to the demon if more than one blow is required. The decapitated body is then held up so that all the blood it contains may flow out upon the demon's altar. The sacrifice being now completed, the animal is cut up on the spot and made into curry; and, with the addition of the boiled rice and fruit offered to the demon on the same occasion, forms a sacred meal of which all who have joined in the sacrifice receive a share.

The sole object of the sacrifice is the removal of the devil's anger, or of the calamities which his anger brings down. It should be distinctly understood that sacrifices are never offered on account of the sins of the worshippers, and that the devil's anger is not supposed to be excited by any moral offence. The religion of the demonolators, such as it is, has no connexion with morals. The most common motive in sacrificing to the

devil is that of obtaining relief in sickness, and in that case, at least, the *rationale* of the rite is sufficiently clear. It consists in offering the demon life for life—blood for blood. The demon thirsts for the life of his votary or for that of his child; and by a little ceremony and show of respect, a little music and a little coaxing, he may be prevailed upon to be content with the life of a goat instead. Accordingly, a goat is sacrificed; its blood is poured out upon the demon's altar, and the offerer goes free.

A European Demon.

Reference is sometimes made to the case of an Englishman, who was worshipped as a demon. As some of the accounts I have seen are very inaccurate and fitted to produce an erroneous impression, and as even Sir Monier Monier-Williams' account contains inaccuracies, I shall here give an exact account of what took place. The circumstances are these. From the rude verses which were sung in connection with this person's worship, it would appear that he was an English officer, a Captain Pole, or some such name, who was mortally wounded at the taking of the Travancore Lines in 1809. They were carrying him towards a place on the sea-coast of Tinnevelly called Manapar, probably in the hope of seeing him recover, but he died on the way at a place in a dreary range of sand-hills about four miles from the place where I write this. Shortly after his death, the ignorant people in the neighbourhood commenced to worship him as a demon. Every demon has offered to him what he is supposed to like best. An ordinary Indian demon would have preferred blood, but the offerings made to this English officer consisted in ardent spirits and cigars! I found this worship in full vigour when I arrived in these parts more than forty years ago, but it has long since passed away and been forgotten. My chief reason for mentioning it here is the unfair use of it which has sometimes been made. An English "globe-trotter," who afterwards went into Parliament, asserted in Parliament, in the course of a tirade against

the English Government in India; that this worship of an English officer as a devil was an illustration of the horror in which the English were held by the natives. The fact is, that the motive of the people of the neighbourhood was not horror or dislike of anything they had heard about the poor man, but pity for his melancholy end, dying as he did in a desert, far away from friends, so that it was impossible that his spirit could have rest.

Ordinary General Meeting, held on *Wednesday, the [illegible] of October, [illegible].*

Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., [illegible], *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

[illegible] Rao Bahadur [illegible] Bombay [illegible] and [illegible]

The following donations were announced, and thanks were voted to the donor:—

To the Museum.

From Mr. J. D. Inverarity—Photograph of Kumars.
Ditto of Banjaris.

The following paper was then read by the author:—

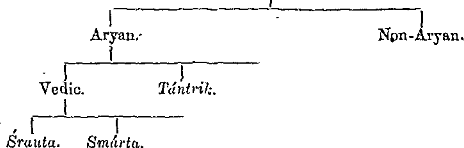
On Hindu Sacrifices.

By *Rao Bahadur* Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh.

There is a great variety observable in the sacrificial worship prevalent in India. Some sacrifices require animals, such as buffaloes, goats, fowls; while others require liquid and solid articles of food, such as butter, milk, rice, *tila*, and fruit. The Hindu religion mostly consists of sacrifices, so much so, that even the burning of a human corpse is called *antyeshṭi* (*the final sacrifice*). *There is hardly any commandment of the* Vedic religion, which is not attended with sacrifices of one kind or another.

The Hindu sacrifices are either based on ritualistic works or on unwritten custom. The former I would designate by the word Aryan, and the latter, Non-Aryan. This nomenclature will serve to show the different origins of the different classes of sacrificial observances. Those sacrifices that profess to be based on custom, and not on any works of *ṛishis* (sages), must have been originally practised by the aboriginal races whom the Aryans conquered and must have been subsequently incorporated by the Aryans into their sacrificial observances, as the unavoidable result of their contact with

the Non-Aryans. The Aryan sacrifices are again divisable under two heads, the Vedic, and the *Tántrik*. The former is a generic name for sacrifices enjoined by the *Śrauta* sútras on the one hand, and by the *Smritis* and the *Puránas* on the other. The latter class, viz., that of the *Tantrik* sacrifices, is based on works which are known by the names of *Tantras, Yamalas* and *Rahasyas*. They discover a stage of mysticism more advanced than that of the Vedic sacrifices. The subjoined table will show at a glance the division of sacrifices that I have referred to above :—



VEDIC SACRIFICES.

It is said that the Vedas were revealed by Brahman, the last of the *Hindu* Trinity. It is curious to note that his worship is prohibited throughout India, except in two places, viz., Brahma-Pushkar near Ajmere and Brahma's Khed near Idur. The reason assigned for this prohibition is that, when he was once appointed an arbitrator in a dispute, he spoke a lie, and was punished for it by Śiva with the prohibition of his worship in the form of an idol. The *Rig-veda* declares that the sacrificial fire was first kindled by Brahma's son, Manu, who corresponds to Noah in the Christian Bible.[1] The reason why I identify Manu with Noah, is that, like Noah, Manu is said to have been saved by God at the time of the universal deluge. The event is narrated in the *Śatapatha Bráhmana*

[1] Rig-Veda, V. 1—11 and V. 2-1.

of the *White Yajurveda.*[2] Divine worship in the form of sacrifices must have originally been very crude; and the elaborate system that is met with in the *Bráhmaṇas* and *Sútras* must be a later development effected by the Bráhmaṇas. This statement will be borne out by a passage in the *Bhágavata Puráṇa*, which says that Vishnu is worshipped in the *Krita* age by meditation, in the *Tretá* age by sacrifices, in the *Dvápara* age by adoration of images (*paricharyá*), and in the *Kali* age by praise and recitation of his name.

The term Vedic sacrifices is properly applied to sacrifices enjoined by *Śrauta Sútras*, though I have used it above in an extended sense, so as to include other allied sacrifices.

Those who are versed in *Śrauta* sacrifices are called *Śrautins* in contradistinction to *Yájñikas*, who profess only to know and conduct *Smárta* sacrifices which will be spoken of in the sequel.

The words *Śrautins* and *Yajñikas*, though originally signifying a profession, have come to be used as surnames of certain families, owing to their having followed the profession for some generations. The *sútra* works on the subject of sacrifices use an elaborate phraseology, contain minute rules and formulæ and prescribe very elaborate and expensive ceremonies. Any breach of, or inattention to these rules, entails penance, according to the nature of the error committed. The different Sanskrit words, which occur in the *sútras* as signifying a sacrifice, are *yajña, kratu, ishṭi adhvara, makha, yága, homa bali.* The rules regulating the conduct of sacrifices describe what kind of animals are to be preferred, of what colour they should be, what *mantras* or prayers should be recited at their slaughter, in what manner they are to be killed, cut and divided, and what parts of their body are fit for sacrifice.

The Vedic sacrificial system begins with *Agnihotra* or establishment of the sacred fire in the house. Then follow two

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2 *Kánda I, Adhyáyá VIII.*

sets or groups of sacrifices, each consisting of seven. The following seven are called the sacrifices of the first group or division:—

1. *Agnishṭoma* or *Soma.*
2. *Atyagnishṭoma.*
3. *Ukthya.*
4. *Shôḍaśi.*
5. *Vájapeya.*
6. *Atirátra.*
7. *Aptoryáma.*

The first of these, viz., *Agnishṭoma,* is styled the *Prakṛiti* (the principal sacrifice), of which the remaining six are *vikṛitis* (modifications). The principal priests employed at these sacrifices are four, and each has three assistants; so that the whole number is sixteen. Each has his prescribed duties and his special name.[3] A sacrifice is performed in a pavilion erected for the purpose. It has various apartments for various purposes. Each of those apartments is beautified by branches of trees. Each has a distinctive name according to the purpose to which it is appropriated.[4] The whole place is strewed with *kuśa* grass. Fire is put in three parts of an altar of a peculiar make, called *kuṇda,* constructed according to prescribed measurements.[5] Fire is brought from the house of the *Agnihotrin,* who wishes to perform a sacrifice, and when it is completed, the *Agnihotrin* receives the surname of *Dikshiṭa.* Sacrificial utensils are made of those kinds of wood which are considered holy, such as *pippala* (*ficus religiosa*) or the *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*). Manu, the lawgiver, says

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[3] The names of the priests are:—*Hotṛi, Adhvaryu, Brahman, Udgátṛi, Maitrávaruna, Pratiprasthátṛi, Bráhmaṇáchchhansin, Prastotṛi, Achchhávāka Neshṭṛi, Agnidhra, Pratihartṛi, Grávastotṛi, Unnetṛi, Poṭṛi, Subrahmanya.*

[4] The names of the apartments are.—*Mahávedi, Havirdhána, Sáda, Patniśálá, Bahirvedi, Antarvedi, Śámitraśálá, &c.*

[5] The names of the three fires are:—*Gárhapatya, Dakshiṇo, Áhavaniya*

that all animals were created by Brahman for the purpose of sacrifices, and that, therefore, their slaughter is not sinful.[6]

The names of the Sacrifices of the Second group are:—

1. *Agnyádheya.*
2. *Agnihotra.*
3. *Darśapaurnamása.*
4. *Cháturmása.*
5. *Ágrayaṇí.*
6. *Nirúḍhhapaśu.*
7. *Sautrámaṇí.*

Sacrifices known as *vikriti* (modifications) are primarily six in number, as stated above. But there are modifications of these again, such as *Mahávraṭa, Viśvajit, Rájasúya, Pauṇḍaríka, Sarvamedha,* &c. Besides these there are special sacrifices, such as *Aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice), *Súlagava* (ox-sacrifice), *Satra* (sacrifice performed by several *Agnihotrins* in unison), *Syenayága* (hawk-sacrifice intended for the destruction of enemies), *Putreshṭi* (sacrifice for obtaining a son), *Parjanyeshṭi* (sacrifice for rain), &c. These are all Vedic sacrifices, and, with the exception of the horse-sacrifice and the ox-sacrifice, which are prohibited in the *Kali* age, they are performed by Bráhmaṇas throughout the country. Prince Jayasing of Jeypore, when in power, insisted on the performance of a horse-sacrifice. His family-priests urged that that sacrifice was prohibited in the *Kali* age; but the prince would not listen to their protests. He bribed several Bráhmaṇas by gifts of land and money, and, with their assent, carried out his purpose. The place, where the sacrifice was performed, is still pointed out in the city of Jeypore. Goat-sacrifices were recently performed at Poona and Alibag. Sadaśivapant Káuitakar, a Vakil of the Courts at Poona, acquired considerable fortune, and then became an *Agnihotrin.* He was prevailed upon to perform

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[6] *Manusmriti, V,* 39.

sacrifices as a meritorious work, and, at the cost of several thousands of Rupees, went through the whole course of sacrifices of the first group or division.[6] Similarly, Dhundiráj Vináyak Bivalkar of Alibág engaged *Agnihotrin* Bráhmaṇas, and supplied them with the necessary funds to enable them to perform sacrifices of the first division. About two lakhs of Rupees are said to have been spent by him upon these ceremonies He would have gone through the sacrifices of the second division, had not their performance been arrested by his death. *Śrautin* Bráhmaṇas assembled at Alibág from all parts of the country and were honoured with gifts of money, horses and clothes. The first sacrifice requires five goats, while the fifth requires twenty-five. In Upper India and in the Carnatic and Telangaṇa, several families bear the surname of *Vájapeyin*, which indicates that some of their ancestors performed the sacrifice known by the name of *Vájapeya*. *Śrautin* Bráhmaṇas are very clever in cutting open animals, and selecting the parts fit to be sacrificed. The art is taught by the Vedic books, especially *Bráhmaṇa* works which give minute details connected with sacrifices. The *Aitareya Bráhmaṇa* describes how the animal is to be divided among the priests.[7]

According to the *Śankaravijaya*, which gives an account of Śankaráchárya's life, that great philosopher is said to have supported the performance of sacrifices on the ground that they were commanded by the Vedas. It is said that many Jains came to him to dispute the position of the Vedas being a revelation on the ground that they were cruel to animal life; but Śankaráchárya vanquished them all in a controversy and maintained the sacred character of the Vedic teaching. Buddhist and Jain Pandits fought against Bráhmans for nearly 1,500 years, and proscribed the Vedas and the caste, the former, because they were cruel to animal life, and the latter, because it maintained inequality among men. Their heresy so prospered

[7] *Panchika VII, Adhyáya 1.*

for a time that Bráhmanswere obliged to acknowledge Buddha as one of the *avatáras* or incarnations of the Deity; but somehow or other the projected revolution was not successful in the end, and the religion of mercy, known as *dayá-dhama*, was crushed in India. After the death of Śankaráchárya there arose four *sampradáyas* or sects of Vaishnavas founded by Madhva, Rámánuja, Nimbárka and Vishṇu Svámin. The essence of the teaching of them all was sacredness of animal life. Some Hindu authors have conceded that if a man desires to perform a sacrifice, the goat should not be a living animal, but one made of rice-flour. This question is still debated with considerable vehemence by *Smárta* and *Vaishnáva* Bráhmanas but the *Smárta* Bráhmanas yet continue to perform their sacrifices with living animals. There is a work on this subject, known by the name of *Pratyaksha-pishṭa-paśu-Mímámsá*, which is written with considerable learning, and sums up arguments on both sides.

Next to *Śrauta* sacrifices, come the *Smárta* ones, ordained by *Gṛihya Sútras* and *Smṛitis*. They are seven in number and are called *Páka Yajñas*. Their names are:—

Śravaṇákarma.
Áśvayují.
Pratyavarohaṇa.
Ágrayana.
Piṇḍapitṛiyajña.
Sarpabali.
Anvashṭaká.

Besides these, there are sixteen sacraments called *Samskáras*, and minor observances termed *Śántika*, *Paushtika* and *Ishtápúrta*, in connection with which sacrifices are performed. Investiture with the sacred thread, marriage and funeral rites belong to sacraments. *Śántika* ceremonies are those which are performed for the purpose of averting evil influences. *Vináyaka Śánti*

and *Múla Śánti* will serve as examples of this class. *Paushtika* sacrifices are those the performance of which is supposed to conduce to the prosperity of the performer. The sacrifice performed in the month of *Śrávaṇa*, commonly called *Śrávaṇí* belongs to this branch. *Ishtápúrta* means consecration of temples, building of *dharmaśálás*, sinking of wells, digging of tanks and plantation of trees. There are other sacrifices for the propitiation of particular deities, as for instance, *Vishnu Yága* for Vishnu and *Śatachandi* for the Deví. It may be observed that sacrifices ordained by *Smritis* and *Puráṇas* are not so cruel as the Vedic ones, for they require only butter, milk, corn, &c, and not live animals.

It is not unlikely that the Bráhmaṇas, as they came under the Buddhistic or Jain influence, began to condemn cruel sacrifices and recommended mild forms of the same by directing ghee, rice, corn, to be used instead of living animals. Under these modified forms of animal sacrifice, the original form is preserved by bringing the animal and tying it to the sacrificial post, and letting it loose at the altar instead of slaughtering it. Animals are often brought to the temples to be sacrificed and after being presented to Fire or idols, are conveyed to a *pinjrápole*. The practice of letting a bull loose on the death of a person is also a remnant of the bull-sacrifice. The requirements of a goat sacrifice are considered satisfied by the cutting up and offering of a *kúshmánda* (a pumpkin), though the *mantras* recited on the occasion refer to a goat.

The idea, underlying these sacrifices, is that evil comes to man out of the displeasure of gods, who will allow an afflicted person to substitute an animal in lieu of himself, and that the offering of the same may be made with a view to mitigate their wrath. It is said that gods like animal food in preference to vegetable food, and the flesh of animals is, accordingly, sometimes spoken of as *devánna* (food of gods). Fire is supposed to be the carrier of food to manes and gods, and is, therefore, called *kavyaváhana* and *havyaváhana*. Those animals which are fit

to be sacrificed are designated *medhya*. So wheat and rice, which are offered as a sacrifice, are called *havishya* or *deva-dhánya* (corn of gods). *Bajri, jawari, mug*, &c., are never used for sacrifice. As monotheism made way for polytheism, and polytheism for pantheism, physical objects came to have animals sacrificed to them. It is thus that one often sees sheep sacrificed in Native states on the *Dasrá* holiday before guns, horses and elephants. Sacrificial worship was supposed to be efficacious in a variety of ways. It gave progeny, brought down rain, and removed diseases. It was supposed to secure prosperity in this world and admittance into heaven. To kill animals in the manner commanded by the Vedas, was deemed no sin.

The subject of Vedic sacrifices is fully detailed in a work of mine called *Nigama-prakáśa* in the Gujrathi language.

TÁNTRIK SACRIFICES.

The *Tántrik* sacrifices cannot be performed without meat or liquor. These constitute their essential feature. Even Bráhmanas are found among the performers of these sacrifices. The authorities of the *Tántrik* system are certain works which purport to have been delivered by Śiva to his consort Bhavání. The performers of *Tântrik* sacrifices do not observe caste. Their sacrificial system is not so much elaborated as the Vedic. Their sacrifice is called *bali-dána*, which consists in cutting the head of the animal intended to be sacrificed. The authorities which they follow are *tantras, rahasyas* and *yamalas* and also some *Puránas*; for instance, the *Káliká Purána* contains a chapter on sacrifices. It is called *rudhirádhyáya* or the bloody chapter. It recommends victims for a sacrifice from a human being down to a sheep. Their religious rites are very immoral and cruel, and yet they attract several followers owing to the high pretensions of supernatural power held out to devotees. A meritorious performance of those rites is supposed to secure to the devotee

great personal power which acts like a charm on gods, men, and lower animals alike. The whole of this sacrificial ritual passes under the name of *mantraśástra*, or the science of the mystic formulæ. Experts in that so-called science are patronized by princes for various diabolical purposes. Some writers attempt to elevate this system to the rank of the Vedas. But the practices of this sect are so strongly condemned by the orthodox, that persons wishing to perform *Tántrik* sacrifices are obliged to perform them at night with great secrecy and in places not frequented by people. This sect is more numerous in Bengal, Kashmere and Dravida than elsewhere. Durgá, Chandí, Kálí or some other goddess is the object of worship. In all Vedic sacrifices animals are killed by suffocating them, while in *Tántrik* sacrifices they are decapitated. The Vedic mode of killing preserved the blood of the animal in its body, while the *Tántrik* mode allowed it to run out. In course of time, the Vedic and the *Tántrik* ceremonies became mixed; so that in the later ritualistic works called *prayogas* and *paddhatis*, they came to be set down side by side. I was for several years engaged in the investigation of the *Tántrik* system of sacrifices as laid down in their works. I have given the result of it in my book called *Ágama-prakáśa* in Gujrathi.. It has been translated into Marathi by Mr. Krishnarao Nawalkar. It has been largely quoted from by Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams in his work, *Religious Thought in India*. Mr. Nawalkar has also translated the work into English and intends to publish it.

Non-Aryan Sacrifices.

These are not founded on any religious works, but rest solely on custom. Buffaloes, sheep, fowls, &c., are promised to idols at different shrines, such as those of Kálí, Khandobá, Biroba, Bhavání, Bahirobá, Śítalá, &c. They are carried on according to custom or the advice of the temple-priests. In India there are numerous temples where animals are [illegible] in great number. The temples of K[illegible]

Durgá in Benares, Vindhya-Vásiní at Mirzapur, Bhavání at Kondanpur and Tuljapur, will suffice as examples. Besides every village has a *Jatrá* (a fair) held for the prosperity of the village. At such a fair buffaloes and sheep are sacrificed. These village *jatrás* are called *Lakshmí-kárya.* The proceedings of a recent *Jatrá* are reported in the *Dnyanodaya,* a Bombay Weekly, of the 26th August 1886. It is stated that twelve buffaloes and many sheep were killed before the idol, and that the ceremony lasted for two weeks. I know of several villages in which these *jatrás* are held, and buffaloes are slaughtered in a very cruel manner. The belief that prosperity in a calling cannot be attained unless these sacrifices are performed, is general among the villagers. In the village of Khavlee, near Wái, in the Satara District, it is usual to take off the heart of the animal before it is decapitated. In other places, the blood of the animal sacrified is sprinkled over all the fields, in the belief that such sprinkling produces fertility. In some places, the head of the animal is kept for several days before the temple with a lamp burning on it. Bheels, Kolis, Mahars and other aborigines are very particular about the performance of these sacrifices. There are various superstitions connected with these sacrifices. It is believed that the lamp burning on the severed head of the animal, if removed and buried, carries prosperity to the village of its burial; and accordingly attempts to remove such lamps stealthily are often made by inhabitants of neighbouring villages. The people of the village are accordingly seen guarding the lamp with sticks and arms and preventing any one from taking it away.

The Non-Aryan sacrifices require no priest, for there is no written ritual. The ritual is regulated by custom handed down from generation to generation. As in every village, so in every fort, there is some deity which must be satisfied by an offering of some live animal. It appears that when forts were built, human beings were sacrificed. It is common to meet a Maharin's place near the gate of a fort. At one of

these forts which I saw, I was told that a female of the Mahár caste was buried alive there, and I saw the place worshipped. A buffalo is selected for a sacrificial offering to goddess Bhavání, because, according to a *Puránik* account, she killed a demon named Mahisháура who had the form of a buffalo, and it came to be believed that on that account the killing of that animal would be very acceptable to her.

These superstitions are very strong and ancient. All sacrificial worship is founded on some error or misconception of the true nature of God. The light of knowledge will displace the error and teach what is proper and right; but, till this consummation takes place, sacrifices, Aryan and Non-Aryan, will prevail.

Sacrificial worship is one of the three modes of worshipping the Deity, recognized by the Hindu religion. They are called *karma* (sacrificial religion), *jñána* (philosophical religion) and *bhakti* (devotional religion). The first system, which I have already described, supposes gods to be expecting offerings of food from man, and offering him in return the good things of this and the next world.[8] It has its foundation mainly in revelation, or the *samhitas* and *bráhmaṇas*. The second system of worship, or the philosophic religion is based on the *upanishads* and the *sútras* of the founders of the six orthodox schools of philosophy, called *darśánas*. The followers of this religion accept reason as their principal guide. They scorn the idea of sacrifice as childish, and say that if a sacrificer goes to heaven, he will return after he has lived out his merit and will be born again. They maintain that a sacrifice, though recommended by the highest authority, is cruel and barbarous and is not intended for this *Kali-yuga*. They transfer the merit ascribed to sacrifices in Vedic times to other acts of piety such as ablution in sacred rivers (*snána*), gifts (*dána*), visits to shrines (*yátrá*) and repetition of God's name (*bhajana*). They inculcate that a man

[8] *Bhagavad Gítá*, Ch. III, v. 11.

going to bathe in the Ganges performs a horse-sacrifice at every pace of his journey. They never perform any sacrifice but contemplate the infinite power of God and His identity with human soul. The third system or the devotional religion teaches that God is personal and wants physical worship. It is founded on the *Mahábhárata* and on *Puranas*, particularly the *Bhágavata*. The founders of the four Vaishnava *Sampradáyas* (sects) and saints like Chaitanya, Nityánanda, Ekanátha, Tukaráma, and others, belong to this religion and teach faith in God and His parental goodness. These are called *bhaktas* and *sádhus*. They do not believe in sacrifices or philosophy. They inculcate fear of God and the necessity of worship and of faith in His goodness. They abstain from animal food, falsehood, and immoral practices of the *tântrika* sacrifices.

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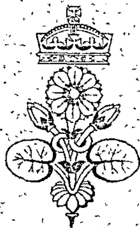
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

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OF

BOMBAY.

Ordinary General Meeting held on Friday, the 26th November, 1886.

Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

The Hon'ble H. H. Futtesingjee Jesvantsingjee, Thakore Saheb of Limdi; H. H. Shivajeerao Maharaj Holkar of Indore, H. E. Salar Jung, Bahadur, Minister of Hyderabad; H. H. Sir Pratapsingjee, Bahadur, K.C S.I., of Jodhpore; H. H. Hussein Yawarkhan, Nawab of Cambay; Shrimant Madhavarao Moreshvar, Chief of Bavda, Kolhapore; Sirdar Hardayalsing, of Jodhpore; The Hon'ble Sree Raja G. N. Gajaputeerao, Vizagapatam; H. H. Risley, B.C.S., Darjeeling; Rao Bahadur Bhaskarrao Ramchandra Heblikar, Deputy Collector, Thanna; Lieut. A. T. Cuming, R. A., Neemuch; Nowrojee Manekjee Khory, Vakil, Central India Courts, Mhow; S. Hornidge, Forest Department, Thanna; and F. Fawcett, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Ganjam.

The election of Mr. E. Rehatsek as a corresponding Member of the Society was also announced.

The following donations were announced, and thanks voted to the donors :—

To the Library.

From Mr. W. F. Sinclair, C.S., Alibag—5 Vols.

1. Voiage and Travaile, 1322-56, of Sir J. Maundevil, Kt.
2. Voyage of Linschoten to the East Indies.
3. Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia.

From Mr. Kaviraj Shyamuldas, Oodeypur—The Mina Tribes of Jaipur in Meywar.

To the Museum.

From Maharáná Shri Narayen Deoji, Raja of Dhurampur—30 different valuable articles;

From Messrs. Hardevram N. Vakil and Mansukhlal H. Nazar—12 different articles.

The following Paper was then read by the author :—

On the Evil Eye *in the* Konkan.

By Purushottam Balkrishna Joshi.

In the Konkan, the evil eye is called *drishṭa* or *najar,* and is supposed to be the result of the influence of a particular planet or constellation at the time of birth. According to *Sarvártha Chintámaṇi,* a work on Hindu astrology, a man or woman, born under the influence of the *Múḷa Nakshatra* (the 19th lunar asterism) or in the first quarter of *Áśleshá* (the 16th lunar

asterism) or in the last quarter of *Viśákhá* (the 9th lunar asterism) is supposed to possess *pápadrishti*, or the evil-eye. Whatever things he or she looks on get blighted. Sometimes the behaviour of the mother during pregnancy is also supposed to influence the child's character, and to make him evil-eyed. A woman in her pregnancy is supposed to conceive peculiar longings from the day of conception or from the fifth month.[1] Under these longings she desires to eat different kinds of fruit and sweetmeat, to smell or to wear various flowers, to put on clothes of different sorts and colours, to feed Bráhmaṇs, and to do other like things. If, for want of means or for any other reason, any of these longings are not satisfied, she gives birth to a thin and weak child. Such a child, when it reaches youth, is sure to have an evil eye. The man with the evil eye is not necessarily a cruel man; nor is it necessary that he should bear ill-feeling towards the person who falls a victim to his evil eye. Good and comely things are most in danger of the evil eye, and so are also men and women in prosperity, and on festive occasions, when they put on a fine dress and wear costly ornaments.[2] It cannot be ascertained from any external marks or features that a particular man is evil-eyed. But if, in one or two instances, people find things blasted by his sight, he becomes a marked man in the village, and people

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1 Concerning these longings, Vág-bhatta, the author of a great work on Indian medicine, says —'The heart of the embryo is engendered from the heart of the mother. Thus as the heart of the mother is connected with that of the embryo, the mother's longings should not be disregarded. Even if the mother feels a desire for a thing that is injurious, at least a small portion of it should be given to her along with a thing which has no injurious effects. If the pregnant woman's longings are not satisfied, it is likely that there will be an abortion or that the child will be deformed or ill-natured.'—*See* Vag-bhatta's *Ashtangahridaya*, Ch I, vv. 52, 53, 54.

2 Compare the following passage from Lord Bacon —"It seems some have been so curious as to note that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye does most harm, are particularly when the party envied is beheld in glory and triumph."

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take care never to expose good things to his gaze. All witches and wizards are believed to be evil-eyed. So are also all beggars and men and women of the lowest classes, such as the Mahárs, Mángs, Thákurs, Phudgis and others.

An evil eye has its influence over men, women, children, cows, bullocks, horses and other animals, trees, flowers, fruit, all vegetables and eatables, crops, milk, curds, precious stones, pearls, jewels, and even clothes and colours. Men, women and children, when affected by the evil eye, suffer severe pain in the stomach, lose all appetite, cannot eat, or if they eat, generally vomit. All lingering sicknesses, pallor, want of appetite, dyspepsia, and many other like distempers are believed to be caused by the evil eye. Cows and she-buffaloes do not give milk when blighted, or, when milked, yield blood. Bullocks and horses do not eat, and become restive. Trees do not bear fruit, drop off leaves and flowers untimely, and generally wither. Stones[3] break, pearls lose their lustre, and jewels either break or lose their brilliancy.

To avert the blight of an evil eye, various preventives are used in the case of children. Either the mother of the infant or the nurse takes a little salt, puts it in water and waves the mixture three times round the face of the affected infant. Lamp-black is considered a great charm against evil, and the foreheads of children (sometimes even of grown up persons) are often marked with it.[4] The most common preventive, used in the case of children, is the berry called *drishtamani* (the evil-eye-bead). Necklaces of these berries are

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[3] The evil eye will crack stones and split walls.—Voice of the Hindu Public in the *Panjab Notes and Queries*, I., 40.

[4] The belief that black is a protection against the evil eye is very common not only in the Konkan, but in many other parts of India, as will be seen from the following conversation Mr. Ibbetson had with a Native of the Panjab. Q. "Why don't you keep that pretty child's face clean?" Ans.—"Oh, Saheb! Little black keeps off the evil eye."—D. Ibbetson, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I., p. 3.

often worn by children as a charm against fascination. There is a superstitious belief common among old Hindu women, that whenever an evil eye falls upon the child wearing these beads they either break or change their colour. These *drishtamanis* may be compared to the nuts called the Molluka Beans used as amulets against fascination in some of the Western Islands of Scotland.[5] Tiger's claws and bear's hair are considered great charms against fascination, not only in the Konkan but in most parts of India; and for this reason, they are set in gold or silver and often worn as ornaments by Hindu children In the *Harivijaya*, a popular Maráthi poem, Krishna is described as wearing tiger's claws round his neck during his infancy.[6] The practice of dressing boys as girls, and girls as boys to avert the evil eye, is not uncommon in the Konkan,[7] and sometimes this superstition is carried to such an extent, that in order to make the boy appear a genuine girl, even his nose is bored and a nose-ring put into it. Garlands of garlic, cloves, and shells, especially the yellow shells called *Bharáni Cawries*, are often used as preventives against fas-

[5] Martin in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 38, speaking of the Isle of Harris, says:—"There is a variety of nuts called 'Molluka Beans,' some of which are used as amulets against witchcraft or an *evil eye*, particularly the white one; and upon this account they are worn about children's necks, and if any evil is intended to them, they say, the nut changes into a black colour."—John Brand's *Antiquities of Great Britain*, III, 46.

[6] See Ch. 4, v. 72 *Translation*.—His ears were adorned with ear-rings and his neck with tiger's claws; while his smiling face showed out his white little teeth.

[7] Concerning this practice, "Cosmopolitan," in *Panjab Notes and Queries* I., 135, relates the following story:—"Some years ago when staying in the Engadine, I saw a good deal of an Italian lady. She had a sweet little child with her who was five or six years old, and as it was attired in a kind of knickerbocker suit, I naturally thought this child was a boy; but one day to my amazement it appeared dressed as a girl. On my expressing my astonish at the transformation, the mother told me that she had only one son and this little girl living. She had lost all other girls. She think that by clothing this one like a boy, she should in some from it."

cination. Even animals and trees are supposed to be subject to the influence of the evil eye and preventives are used in their case. Old shoes and brooms are tied to the branches of trees; and charmed black threads and necklaces of shells are tied on the horns and about necks of animals. When their cows cease to give milk, or pass blood instead, the Phudgis and Kolis of the Thána District prepare a charm from the plant called *Bhutawali*, and tie it round their necks.[a] In the case of grown up persons, as a rule, no preventives are used, but remedies like the following are generally resorted to:—

1. A handful of dust is taken from a place where three roads meet, and it is mixed with salt, chillies and coriander seed. The mixture is waved thrice round the face of the sick man, and then put on fire in a plate or a tile. If the smoke smells of the chillies, it is held that the man is suffering from a bodily disease; otherwise it is believed that he is bewitched, and that a repetition of this process will remove the sickness.

2. When it is found that the sick man has, during his sickness, an aversion or dislike for a particular thing, the thing is divided into three or five parts, each of these parts is taken to the mouth as if to eat, and then either put on fire, or placed on the ground to the right hand side of the sick man.

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[a] Compare the charm used in Uist in the Hebrides to ward off the blast of an evil eye. It is known as the *Eolan an Torranain*, or 'wise woman wisdom,' which not only insures a cow against the evil eye, but causes her to give quantities of rich milk. The *Torranain* is a large snow-white blossom, growing in rocky places on the hills, which fills with the dew of bliss, while the tide is flowing and slowly dries up again during the ebbing. It is gathered during the flow of the tide and then placed under one of the milk-pails; not, however, till it has been waved over it thrice in a sun-wise circle, while slowly and solemnly chanting *Eola*, an incantation in which St. Columba, St. Bride, St. Oran, and St. Michael of the high-crested steeds are all called upon to lend their aid to win the nine blessings —Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, 257.

3. When a man believes that his sickness is caused by the malignant eye of another man, who saw him eating a particular thing, he gives that man the thing he was eating. If the evil-eyed man is satisfied, it is believed that the sickness is at an end. But when it is not known whose eye it is that has bewitched the patient, the patient and the thing he is disgusted with are taken to a *Bhagat*, (an exorcist) who rubs the forehead of the man with cowdung ashes, and charms the thing by repeating some mystic verses over it. The charmed thing is then kept hanging from the ceiling for a whole night, and in the morning it is given to the sick man to eat.

4. Sixty-four leaves of the date palm are thrice waved round the face of the patient and then each of them is knotted separately, by an expert or exorcist, who, while knotting, repeats over each of them one of the names of the sixty-four spirits called *Yogins* or *Mátrikás*. The charmed leaves, a pebble picked up from a place where four roads meet, and a morsel of food are then waved round the face of the patient and put in a vessel filled with water. The sick man is told to put in the vessel his spittle, a lock of his hair and a nail. The face of the vessel is closed with leaves of *erand* (castor oil plant), and a piece of cloth is tied over it. The vessel, after being waved three times round the face of the sick man, is put on the fire to be boiled. When sufficiently boiled, it is taken down and placed under the cot of the patient. A broom and a shoe are also brought, struck thrice against the ground, and placed near the vessel. In the morning the mouth of the vessel is untied and its contents are thrown outside the house. If the water in the vessel turns red, it is believed that the patient was really bewitched. If it does not become red, the patient is pronounced not to have been the victim of an evil eye.

The above remarks are mainly confined to the belief in the blight of the evil eye, as it prevails in the Konkan; but from the following, it would appear that the same belief prevailed, and does prevail, in many other parts of India, and other countries of the world. Belief in the power of the evil eye to bring on sickness is very strongly rooted among the Lingayats. The Karnatak Lingayats, especially the Dhulpavads and Shilvants, would, under no circumstances, allow their food to be exposed to the gaze of a stranger. They hold that if a stranger, especially a non-Lingayat, sees them taking their meals, they are sure to fall sick. In Dharwar, if a child does not eat its food, the mother at once attributes it to the blight of an evil eye, and waves three morsels of food round the child's body, and throws them to a dog or a cat; and if any one praises the child or says "How nice the child looks," she will turn sharp on the person who made the remark and say "Look at your foot, it is soiled with mud."[9] In the *Bhágavata*, which is held in very great reverence by the Hindus (*Skandha*, X., Ch. VI., verses 19 to 29), are enumerated, at some length, the remedies resorted to by Yaśodá, the mother of Krishna, to remove the evil, supposed to be caused to him by the sight of the female demon Pútaná, who had, under disguise, come to suckle the child. There, among other remedies, it is stated that Yaśodá, with the assistance of Rohiṇí and other women of the city of Gokula, waved round the face of the child the tail of the sacred cow, sprinkled him first with cow's urine, and then with the earth taken from the foot-prints of the animal, and lastly, marked his forehead, eyes, ears, &c., with cowdung ashes.[10] The ancient Egyptians entertained strange notions about the blight of the evil eye. Concerning them, Volney, in his *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, I. 246, says;—" The ignorant mothers of many of the modern Egyptians whose hollow eyes, pale faces, swollen bellies and

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9 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII., 51.

10 See Bhágavata *Skandha*, X., Ch. 6, vv. 19 and 20.

meagre expressions make them seem as if they had not long to live, believe this to be the effect of the evil eye, of some envious person who has bewitched them."[11] The Turks in the last century entertained the same superstitious notions about fascination as their co-religionists of India entertain at the present day. "Nothing," says Dallaway in his *Account of Constantinople*, 1798, p. 391, "can exceed the superstition of the Turks respecting the evil eye of an enemy or infidel. Passages from the Koran are painted on the outside of the houses, and a part of the superfluous caparison of their horses is designed to attract attention and divert a similar influence."[12]

The belief in and the dread of the evil eye is confined not only *to the barbarous or semi-civilized countries of Asia and Africa*; but it appears that the same superstitions are still entertained in some parts of Europe. In India where these beliefs have become a part and parcel of the national religion, their continuance need not cause surprise. But in those countries of Europe, which have reached *the zenith of civilization* and where a religion like Christianity, which claims to be free from all superstition, is prevalent, if we occasionally come across such notions, they are not only interesting because of their unexpectedness, but are indeed very valuable as showing how tenaciously people, even in civilized countries, cling to old ideas and old beliefs. I am sure our good-natured and well-meaning Christian friends, who sometimes taunt us for our tardiness in carrying out social reform, will not be wrath with us when they read the following, and see that even in refined Christendom, where religion and superstition are not blended together as in India, it is not easy to shake off old superstitions. "In the autumn," says Mr. Gordon Cumming in his 'In the Hebrides' 1883, p. 261, "a case, by no means exceptional, was tried before the Sheriff at Stornoway for

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[11] Brand's *Antiquities of Great Britain*, III, 48.

[12] *Brand*, *III*, *48*.

defamation, a man having formally accused a whole family of having by witchcraft stolen the milk from his cow. He stuck to his belief, and was fined five shillings and costs. Still more frequent is the accusation of having wilfully cast the *evil eye* on a neighbour's goods; and our Northern Sheriffs have to decide many a case for slander and defamation, all turning on some such vague accusation of witchcraft. For the dread of the evil eye is just as great here as in the far East; and any one reputed to possess it, is shunned as a living plague. Quite recently I knew an instance of the people on the beautiful west coast of Rossshire refusing to let a woman settle among them; and they even came to the proprietor to request that he would not give her a stance, because they declared she had wicked eyes. To us the young woman and her eyes seemed rather comely and kindly."

The following Note was then read by the author :—

On the Evil Eye *among the* Bunnias.

By John DeCunha, L. M. & S.

Amongst the Bunnias in Bombay it is believed that the evil eye is usually attracted by one or several of the following causes:—Wealth, beauty, beautiful hair, especially long eye-lashes, the drinking of milk before strangers, or the sight of a babe at its mother's breast.

The evil eye may be found amongst the upper classes, if it be induced in them by exciting their jealousy, envy, or hatred; but, as a rule, the lower the class and the blacker the person the more intense the potency of his evil eye.

No.12.A. ॥ योगनिद्रोवाच ॥ हरौ
दूरीभूतं कुरु भयं भयांकित स्थिते ॥ स्थिता या
मयिचब्रह्मन सुखीतिष्ठ जगत्पते ॥१॥ श्रीहरिः पा
तुतेवक्त्रं नासिकेमधुसूदनः ॥ श्री

छष्णश्चक्षुषी पातु नासिकां राधिका पतिः ॥ २ ॥ कर्णयु
ग्मं च कंठं च कपालं पातु माधवः ॥ कपोलं पातु गोविं
दः केशांश्च केशवः स्वयं ॥३॥ अधरोष्ठं हृषीकेशो दंत
पंक्तिं गदाग्रजः ॥ रासेश्वरश्च रसनां तालुकं वामनो
विभुः ॥४॥ वक्षः पातु मुकुंदश्च जठरं पातु दैत्यहा ॥
जनार्दनः पातु नाभिं पातु विष्णुश्च मेहनं ॥ ५ ॥ नितंब
युग्मं गुह्यं च पातु ते पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ६ ॥ जानुयुग्मं जान
कीशः पातु ते सर्वदा विभुः ॥ हस्तयुग्मं नृसिंहश्च पा
तु सर्वत्र संकटे ॥ ७ ॥ पादयुग्मं वराहश्च पातु ते क
मलोद्भवः ॥ ऊर्ध्वं नारायणः पातु ह्यधस्तात् कमलाप
तिः ॥८॥ पूर्वस्यां पातु गोपालः पातु वह्नौ दशास्य
हा ॥ वनमाली पातु याम्यां वैकुंठः पातु नैरृतौ ॥
॥ ६ ॥

No.13 कामरु दशाकी कुकुजी मद की ओमा रव स्यय व जो रव
उवो रवापरी श्रोकेयव द जाय मारो हुंका रो पा छो
फरे ~ ती टनमान की द वाइ फुरे

इसकु साकर के तेलका धुप देवे

No.8 दुर्गे स्मृता हरति भीतिमशेषजंतोः स्वस्थैः स्मृता मति
मतीव शुभां ददासि दारिद्र्य दुरव भय हारिणि का त्व
दन्या सर्वोपकार करणाय घ सदार्द्रचित्ता ॥१॥

No. 14.

आगत वारो पवत धारो बारकोश
कीजमी वारु नदीनी नावबारु मडाकी
मसाणका चाराकी चकलाकी वावरी
आभूतकी वारु चिकोतरा वतरा
सुधा वारु

ईश्वरु गोबान धूप

No. 15.

तुमकु हमारा चाकर
बनाव मुसिफर्र र्

No. 9

गणेशस्तु तु खंपातु कंठं देवो गणजय:
स्कंधौ पातु गजस्कंध: स्तनौ विघ्न वि
नाशक: ॥१॥ ऐं ह्रीं ॐ स्वाहा:

No. 11.



हरिर्विदध्यान्मम सर्वरक्षां न्य
स्तांघ्रिपद्मः पतगेंद्रपृष्ठे दरा
रिचर्मासिगदेषुचापपाशान् द
धानोष्टगुणोष्टबाहुः ॥१॥ गदे
शानिस्पर्शनविस्फुलिंगो निष्पिं
ढि निष्पिं ढ्यजितप्रियासि
कूष्मांडवैनायकयक्षरक्षो
भूतग्रहांश्चूर्णय चूर्णयारी
न् ॥१॥

हरिर्विदध्यान्ममसर्वरक्षान्यस्तांघ्री
पद्मः पतगेंद्रपृष्ठेदरारिचर्मासिगदे
षुचापपाशान्दधानोष्टगुणोष्टबाहुः ॥१॥

श्री

गदेशानिस्पर्शनविस्फुलिंगोनिष्पिंढि
निष्पिंढ्यजितप्रियासि कूष्मांडवैनाय
कयक्षरक्षोभूतग्रहांश्चूर्णयचूर्णया
रीन् ॥१॥

No 10.

ॐ तें ह्रीं खैं क्रीं रँ मैं वँ पं फं द्वं ठ ठ ठ क्षि
णी असुर डाकीनी शाकीनी
मार्ग रोधिनी देव दानवयक्ष
गंधर्वादि मानव दृष्टि विध्वं(?)सा
न उपद्रवान् हन हन दुष्ट सत्वान् हर हर
सुखितं मां कुरु कुरु वषट फँ यँ मँ रँ क्रीं
खैं ह्रीं पैं विरूपे श्वर्य क्षिणी स्वाहा

No. 12, B.

वारुण्यां चास्तु देवश्च सततं रक्षाकरः स्वयं। पा
तु ते संततमोजो वायव्यां विष्टरश्रवाः॥१०॥ उत्तरे
च सदा पातु तेजसा जलजासनः॥ ईशान्यामी
श्वरः पातु पातु सर्वत्र शत्रुजित्॥११॥ जलेस्थ
ले चांतरिक्षे निद्रायां पातु रा
घवः॥ इत्येवं कथितं ब्रह्मन् कवचं पर
माद्भुतं॥१२॥

No. 5, B.

स्पतं वर्द्धिमानं । न मगपात्मरः ॥ क्री.ड
नं पातु गोविंदः ३ ॥ नं पातु माधवः ॥ ४ ॥
शयनं मध्याह्ने [illegible] आसीनं त्वां श्रियः पतिः
[illegible] भानं पातु सर्व ग्रह भयंकरः ॥ ५ ॥ डाकि
न्यो पातु [illegible] कृष्णो [illegible] मंकृष्णहाः ॥ भूतः
प्रेत पिशा पाश्च यक्षरक्षो विनायकाः ॥
६ ॥ कोटरा रेवती ज्येष्ठा पूतनामातृका द्यः ॥ उ
न्मादाये [illegible] स्मारा देह प्राणेन्द्रिय द्रुहः ॥ ७
स्वप्न दृष्टा महोत्पाता वृद्धा बालग्रहाश्च ये
सर्वे नश्यन्तु ते विष्णो र्नाम ग्रहण भाड्

No. 5, A

अव्याद् जोऽङ्घ्रि मणि मांस्तव जानु
यज्ञोऽच्युतः कटितटं जठरं हयास्यः ॥ हृत्के
शवस्त्वदुर ईश इनस्तु कंठं विष्णुर्भु
जं मुखमुरुक्रम ईश्वरः कं ॥ १ ॥ चक्र्यग्रतः
सह गदो हरिरस्तु पश्चात्त्व त्पार्श्वयोर्धनुर
सीमधुहाजनश्च ॥ कोणेषु शंख उरुगा
य उपर्युपें – द्रस्तार्क्ष्यः क्षितौ हलधरः
पुरुषः समन्तात् ॥ २ ॥ इंद्रियाणि हृषीके
श. प्राणान्नारायणो ॥ वतु ॥ श्वेतद्वीपपति
श्चित्तं मनो योगेश्वरोऽवतु ॥ ३ ॥ पृश्निगर्भ

No. 6.

मृत्युंजय महारुद्र
त्राहि मी शरणागतं॥१॥

अने गुगळनो धुप



No. 16

तनु दरी आवु हे दातार्
करेण कोफुल देनो.

No. 7

सर्वबाधा प्रशमन त्रैलोक्यस्याखिलेश्वरी
एंवमेवत्वयाकार्य मस्मद्वैरिविनाशेनं॥
ॐ हुं फट् स्वाः

No. 2

ॐ नमःकामाख्यायै सर्वसिद्धि
दायै ममोपरि कस्यापि दृष्टि
विकारो जातः तं दूरि कुरु कु
रु स्वाहा

No. 3

ॐ येरु अवतर मनोजयकरी
सकल मनोरथकरणी समस्तसम
मुखं प्रवेशय फट् स्वाहा ॥ १॥

No. 4

क्लीं ह्रीं पृदृ असुरेश्वरी दृष्टि
दोषं विनाशय फट् ह्रीं क्लीं
ह्रीं ॥ स्वाहा ॥

No. 5, c.

भैरवः॥ ८॥ इति प्रणयवक्त्राभि गोपी
भिः कृतरक्षणं॥ पाययित्वा स्तनं माता स
न्यवेशयदात्मजं॥ १०॥

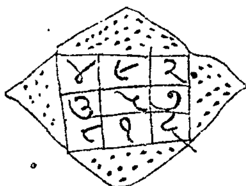
No. 1, B.

त्वं मनो योगेश्वरो वतु ॥४॥ पृ
श्निगर्भश्च ते बुद्धिमात्मानं भग
वान्परः क्रीडंतं पातु गोविंदःश
यानं पातु माधवः ॥५॥ व्रजं तमव्या
द्वैकुंठ आसीनं त्वा श्रियः पतिः
भुजानं यज्ञभुक् पातु सर्वग्रहभ
यंकरः ॥६॥ डाकिन्यो यातुधान्यश्च
कूष्मांडा ये र्भकग्रहाः ॥ भूत प्रेत
पिशाचाश्च यक्षरक्षो विनायकाः ॥
७॥ कोटरा रेवती ज्येष्ठा पूतना
मातृकादयः उन्मादा ये ह्यपस्माराः
देहप्राणेंद्रियद्रुहः ॥८॥ — स्व
प्रदृष्टा महोत्पाता वृद्धबालग्रहाश्च
ये ॥ सर्वे नश्यंतु ते विष्णो नामग्रहण

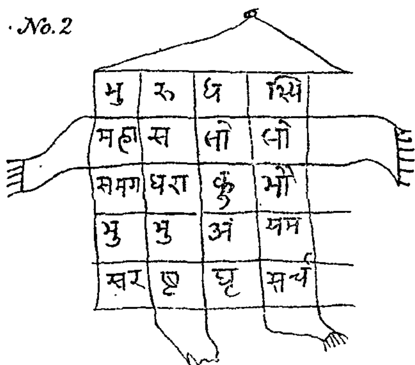
No. 1, A.

गोप्यःसंस्पृष्ट सलिला अंगेष क
रयोः पृथक् न्यस्यात्मन्यथ बाल
स्य बीजन्यासमकुर्वत ॥१॥ अ
व्याद जोंघ्रिमणिमांस्तव जान्व
थोरू यज्ञोच्युतः कटितटं जठरं
हयास्यः ॥ हृत्केशवस्त्वदुदर
ईशइनस्तु कंठं विष्णुर्भुजंमुखमु
रुक्रम ईश्वरः कं ॥२॥ चक्र्यग्रतः स
हगदो हरिरस्तु पश्चात्त्वत्पार्श्वयो
र्धनुरसी मधुहाजनश्च ॥ कोणेषु शं
खउरुगाय उपर्युपेंद्रस्तार्क्ष्यः क्षि
तौ हलधरः पुरुषः समंतात् ॥३॥
इंद्रियाणि हृषीकेशः प्राणान्ना
रायणोऽवतु ॥ श्वेतद्वीपपतिश्चि

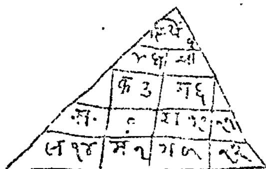
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

१	२	३	४	५	६	७
९	१०	११	१२	१३	१४	८
१९	१८	१८	२१	२१	१५	२६
२५	२६	२९	२८	२२	२३	२४
३३	३४	३५	२९	३०	३१	३२
४१	४३	३६	३७	३८	३९	४०
४९	४३	४४	४५	४६	४०	४८

No. 5

९।।	६६	२	५
७	६	७	६
।	[illegible]	०।	०।
८	९	।	४०

No. 6.

७	७	९	८
।	६	६	५
४	०।।।	।	११
७।	६	९।।।	०।।।०

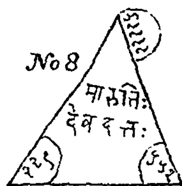
No. 7

क्रीं

क्रीं ॰ मारुवीं ॰ क्रीं
॰ देवदत्त ॰
२२०२१०२२०२४० २१००

क्रीं

No 8



No. 9

१२०००	१६०००	२०००	७०००
१४००	३०००	१३०००	१५०००
१६०००	१३०००	८०००	२०००
१०००	१००००	१६०००	१७०००

No. 10 न

δ

प

प

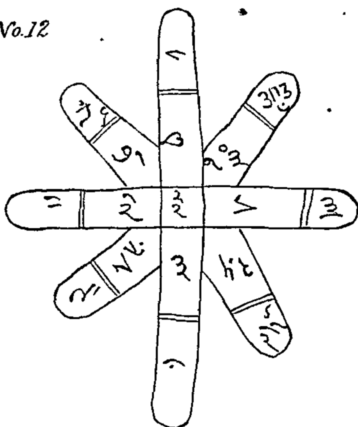
स

No. 11

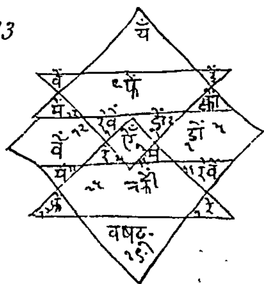
ति	गौं	ति	र्ग	ति	पौं	ति	स्यां
प	री	प	ए	प	णी	प	पां
मा	प	धा	प	र	प	घ	तु
उ	ती	रा	ति	सु	ति	विं	तें

Yantras against the Evil Eye.

No. 12



No. 13



Results—The evil eye is believed to cause loss of appetite, wasting, fever, vomiting, and sometimes delirium in its victim.

METHODS OF CURE.

A. Solicit the protection of a female deity on a Tuesday, Thursday, or Sunday evening in one of the following ways:—

1. Go to a Bráhman who is the *pujári* (worshipper) of a particular goddess. He stands before his tutelary deity, repeats a *mantra* over a piece of thread, blows on it and ties it round the right arm of the sufferer. A cure is effected in three days, after which it is enjoined that some money be given away in charity, not necessarily to the officiating Bráhmaṇa
2. A Bráhman writes a *mantra* on a piece of *bhúrja patra*, encloses it in a locket of gold, silver, or copper, and ties it round the neck, arm, or wrist of the sufferer.
3. A *yantra* is inscribed on a silver, or, by preference, copper plate, and hung round the neck; or written on a piece of *bhúrja patra*, enclosed in a locket of gold, silver, or copper, and tied round the neck, arm, or wrist of the patient.

After a good deal of labour I have succeeded in obtaining from Bráhman priests of high repute and famous sanctity a collection of *mantras* and *yantras* against the evil eye.

As it would damage them socially and lower them in the eyes of their people, if it were known that they unveiled to a *mlechcha* the mysteries of their craft, I am compelled to keep their names secret; but I have introduced the chief of them, through whose hands my entire collection has passed, and who can vouch for its value, to one of the Secretaries of this Society, who is a Bráhman.

I have much pleasure in presenting my collection of *mantras* and *yantras* to the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

B. The following methods for the cure of the evil eye are performed by the mother of the sufferer, by the senior lady of the household, or by an elderly Bráhman lady :—

1. She takes a bronze cup and saucer, fills the cup with milk and the saucer with cooked food, turns them from left to right seven times round the sufferer's head, and empties the contents of the cup and saucer at the junction of four roads.

2. The lady covers the sufferer's face with a white cloth, takes mustard and salt in her right hand, describes a circle in the air seven times from left to right round the patient's head, and throws the mustard and salt into the fire.

If the operator hear a crackling, or perceive a powerful odour from the fire, it is a sign that the influence of the evil eye has been neutralized.

3. The lady takes a bronze cup full of live coals and chillies,[13] inverts it rapidly into a bronze saucer (taking care that the contents of the cup do not escape), places a knife in the saucer alongside of the inverted cup, plasters the outside of the cup with cow-dung, and pours on cold water till the saucer is full. If the cup do not adhere to the saucer, then the illness is due to other causes than the evil eye, and a magician or an English medicine-man or both ought to be consulted.

If the cup do adhere to the saucer, then there is an evil eye at work, and the cup and saucer must be kept for three days near the sufferer in an exposed place where they may be seen by all who enter the room.

4. The lady makes a vow to fast or abstain from particular foods for a stated period, or give a certain sum away in charity, or go on a pilgrimage.

C. On the 14th day of the dark half of the month of *Asvina* (the day before *Diváli*) men, women and children

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[13] Capsicum astigiatum.

apply before sunrise the black pigment called 'mesh' to their eye-lids to ward off the effects of the evil eye.

All magical and evil influences are on that day dominant; hence it is called *Kali chowdas* (the Black Fourteenth).

So much for the prevalence among the Bunnias of an old and world-wide superstition.

It existed among the ancient Jews (Proverbs xxviii. 22): "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats." Also (Matthew xx. 15): "Is thine eye evil because I am good?"

William Jones [14] says "the Greeks of the present day entertain the same horror of the evil eye as their ancestors did, and the *mal occhio* of modern Italy is the traditional fascination of the Romans."

He quotes from Plutarch (Sympos, v. 9): "The objects that are fastened up as a means to keep off witchcraft, derive their efficiency from the fact that they act through the strangeness and ridiculousness of their forms which fix the mischief-working evil eye upon themselves."

Also from Bacon (Sylva sylvarum): "Envy, which is called an evil eye, seems to emit some malignant and poisonous spirits that take hold of the spirits of another, and is said likewise to be of greatest force when the cast of the eye is oblique."

And from Guttierrez, a Spanish physician who wrote a work on fascination (1653): "Children of that country wore amulets against the evil eye somewhat resembling those in use among the Romans. His own son wore one of these, a cross of jet, and it was believed that it would split if regarded by evil eyes thus transferring their venom from the child upon itself. In fact, the amulet worn by the young Guttierrez did so split one day, while a person was steadfastly looking at him, but the learned physician wisely attributed the occurrence to

[14] *Credulities, Past and Present*, by William Jones, F.S.A.

some accidental cause, and expressed his conviction that the same thing would have happened under any other circumstances."

Among the many remedies recorded against the evil eye, we find the skin of a hyæna's forehead; the kernel of the fruit of palm-tree; Alyssum (madwort) hung up anywhere in the house; the stone Catochites; spitting on the right shoe before putting it on; necklaces of jacinth, sapphire or carbuncle; laying turf from a boy's grave under a boy's pillow and from a girl's grave under a girl's pillow; giving in a drink the ashes of a rope with which a man has been hanged; hanging up the key of the house over a child's cradle, &c.

Nuts were employed by the inhabitants of the Western Isles of Scotland as amulets against fascination.

A Greek or a Turkish woman, on seeing a stranger look eagerly at her child, will spit in its face, and if a stranger stare hard at her, she will spit in her own bosom to avert the evil eye.

The use of garlic, or even of the word which signifies that herb, is considered a sovereign preventive. New-built houses and the stems of Greek vessels have long bunches of garlic hanging from them to intercept the fatal envy of any ill-disposed beholder.

The ships of the Turks have the same appendages.

In Roumania it is believed that a child, adult, or animal, decorated with red ribbons, is impervious to the evil eye; hence most people there wear something scarlet about them, and oxen have generally a red rag about their horns.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING held on Friday, the 3rd of December, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

H. H. Malkhan Sing, Bahadur, Maharaj of Cherkhari, Bundelkhand; Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Samuells, Deputy Commissioner, Manbhum, Bengal; James C. Jones, C.E., Engineer, Gulburga; Siddeshur Mitter, Bellevne, Hooghly.

Mr. C. W. Stevens, who was introduced to the Society by the President, then read the following Paper:—

On EXPLORATIONS *in the* VEDIRATA *of* CEYLON.

By C. W. STEVENS.

It is in the hope of inducing this Society to take up the hitherto neglected question as to the origin of those singularly interesting people, the Veddahs of Ceylon, that I have requested the honour of addressing you this evening, trusting that the representations I make will be deemed of sufficient importance—necessarily incomplete on many points though they are at present—to cause your prompt actions towards that end. I use the expression "neglected" intentionally, for though the subject has been deemed worthy of the despatch, from time to time, of accredited and able observers from various foreign Societies, yet, to the discredit of Ceylon it must be recorded, that no systematic or organized attempt has been made there to either solve the problem or to obtain reliable accounts of this remnant of a barbaric race. A few earnest anthropologists, it must be admitted, have done all that lay in their power, but the work is one which, in no ordinary degree, calls for united effort. A single observer can do much, but in dealing with the Veddah all inferences and deductions require most thorough examination

and discussion such as only the members of a Society specially interested, can bestow on them. The difficulties in the way of observations have been greatly exaggerated, and it is doubtless in great measure owing to this that the numerous errors, inconsistencies, and, in some cases, absolute misrepresentations have appeared in the accounts of writers whose scientific reputation unfortunately gives a vitality to mis-statements not easily overcome. It would appear indeed as if in very few instances had the really typical Veddah been under observation, and even then under circumstances so antagonistic to his ordinary surroundings that an incorrect conception followed as a matter of course. The self-imposed isolation of the nomad of the central and more remote Vedirata is only to be observed within the ring of the village Veddahs, who, though in many instances mixed with Cingalese or Tamil blood, and presenting in many important details great differences, have, by many writers, been accepted as representatives of the race. Much of the information I collected during my residence in the Vedirata is so totally at variance with existing accounts, that though most discrepancies can be clearly traced to the want of personal observations being supplemented by the statements of Cingalese and even European residents, I at present hesitate to give it publicity before verification. Many of the inaccuracies met with in previous accounts were repeated to me on my arrival at Bintenne, only to be contradicted later on. Intending to re-visit Ceylon shortly I shall pay especial attention to these points of variance. The more essentially scientific portion of my notes I purpose submitting to more competent revision and criticism before appearance. The result will be given in a paper which will, by anticipated permission of the Society, be published in your Journal. A very great difficulty arises from the loose way in which the word "Veddah" was at one time applied in Cingalese records. It is certain that either the Veddah of the present day is quite dissimilar in feature and many characteristics to his ancestors of a few centuries back, or that

the writings in question misapplied the term according to its present definition. Before proceeding to give a short working sketch of the manner in which I was enabled to obtain such unrestricted access to the Veddah, I wish to reiterate the necessity of immediate action being taken. Official statements give the estimated number of the Veddahs as approximately 1,500, a number far in excess of actual fact, I am confident. Of this number certainly not more than 300, if indeed that is not too liberal an estimate, can be fairly said to represent in mode of life and unchanged habits and thought the once numerous race of nomad hunters of the jungle and cave.

Rapidly dying out, I am firmly of opinion that within the course of the next hundred years or less, the Veddah as such will have ceased to exist. Nor are the causes far to seek or difficult to trace. Insufficiently protected at all times from the exigencies of climate, even though that be a Ceylonese one, the diminution of the animals of the chase, ill-replaced by jungle tubers, berries and honey—causing not only over-exertion but irregularity in obtaining supplies, their unduly exhausted bodies are rendered more than ordinarily susceptible to the almost ever-present malarial fever and to a fatal affection of the lungs. Added to this is the somewhat doubtful element of incestuous connection. I speak without confidence on this point, for the testimony gathered by me was conflicting and scarcely satisfactory in some instances, but I believe I can positively state that, in some cases at least, such does occur up to the present day. But the unquestionably greatest and most serious cause of their extinction is first the frequent death, at child-birth, of the female, so unusual in a savage race, regarding which I am unable to form an opinion; and secondly, the practice of masturbation. It is obvious what a wide ground for discussion this latter feature presents, but space forbids it being entered upon by me here. I am not aware that this particular fact has been elicited before, nor (I may be excused for introducing this here, as the presence of ladies at Calcutta and Colombo

prevented my drawing attention to it before) the non-observance of the use of the left hand with water on certain occasions. Certainly this may be accounted for by the disregard of the Veddah to ablution generally, but it appears to be from some direct but dimly remembered tradition. Under these circumstances it is evident that investigation should be taken up *at once*, and I trust that the Society will be able to do so.

And now, with a view of assisting any member or agent, who may be delegated to carry out further research, I will proceed to give an outline of the course of action adopted by me, leaving it to the future investigator to modify, accept, or reject as his experiences may dictate. Only to be found on the eastern coast, the Veddah is best arrived at from Batticaloa, a sea-port town, reached by local steamer from Colombo, at a cost of from 65 to 95 rupees. The forest of Bintenne, formerly one of his principal resorts and shelter, lies close to Batticaloa, but only the village Veddah is now to be found there, and it is only by proceeding westward into the interior and the Uva District for some 80 miles along the Badulla Road that the present Vedirata is to be arrived at, lying north and south of the road, which must be considered as a base for supplies for the observer. Striking off into the jungle past the settled population, what is left of the wild Veddahs may be met with in a condition but little varying from that of centuries ago, each family having a portion of the jungle allotted to it.

Too much stress cannot be laid upon one point, viz., never to first approach the Veddah with Cingalese or Tamil attendants or servants. To do so is simply to destroy all hopes or possibility of gaining their confidence. Alone the European may enter and stay among them without the slightest danger; and in a few days, particularly under the influence of presents of cloth, tobacco, betel, salt, and salt-fish, they will disregard the presence of a stranger, and exhibit their natural demeanour which is as utterly unlike that which they assume under coercion or enforced interview with a European attended by his servants,

as can possibly be imagined. It is not necessary to know either the Cingalese or Tamil language. I found that gestures such as I had used with savages in Australia, signs and pictorial representations were readily understood and acted upon, while the most competent interpreter failed to understand the whole of a long sentence from them. Care must be taken to repeat any important question at various camps, as the interpreters themselves are not to be relied upon too implicitly, as I found to my cost. Going among them without restraint or hindrance, partaking of their food or resting among them at night, watching the few women and children, or accompanying the men on their hunting excursions I soon gained their confidence, and in a few days was able to persuade some of them to return with me to my camp, promising them further presents. There was always a little difficulty in getting them to answer the interpreter at first, but this soon wore off, and though they would volunteer nothing, answered questions freely. On one occasion, however, they refused to take any notice of the interpreter but sat stolid, impassive, immovable, with their long hair falling over the face, and at last rose and departed. The interpreter explained that he was a low-caste man, and that they would not listen to him. On my return that way I had with me a high-caste Cingalese, and the same Veddahs readily replied to him. As far as I could judge the Veddah is only dangerous on one point, that of ridicule, and I am of opinion that their extreme sensitiveness on this point is the cause, in a great measure, of their aversion to their neighbours, the Cingalese and Tamil. A human brute of prey, watchful, wary, stealthy, silent as his life compels him to be, ever on the alert for danger or food, all the emotions of the Veddah are under the same subdued, repressed, undemonstrative quietude enjoined upon him by the exigencies of his daily existence. Uttering no sound in pain, and almost inaudible in his mirth, as a rule, it is easy to understand how the loquacious and intrusive Cingalese is so distasteful.

To laugh at a Veddah is a dire insult keenly felt, and in most cases would meet with the retaliation of an arrow, as indeed happened to me on one occasion. I had great difficulty in inducing them to part with their weapons, but none whatever with their dead, the entire absence of any concern, objection, or feeling in the matter being most marked. Even when closely related the survivor would composedly re-open the grave, inspect the body or skeleton, when exposed, and not only carry for several miles the remains, but sleep with them suspended out of the way of jackals or iguanas immediately over him.

It appears to me that the great point to be aimed at is to bring some of these Veddahs within reach of a society, where their peculiar language could be studied, and deliberate and accurate measurements, photographs, &c., obtained with greater reliability than in the jungle. I am confident that six months could accomplish this. In 1875 a party of six were brought by Mr. D. Somanader to Colombo for inspection by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. Captured by stratagem and brought down by gentle force, they, after their return to the jungle, and subsequent (1886) re-visit by Mr. Somanader recognised him at once, with the greatest cordiality. Had more intimate acquaintance been formed with them first it is certain that they would have gone without the slightest demur.

I could have brought down to Colombo one survivor of these six, but as he had lapsed into the condition of the village Veddah he was not reliable, and I invariably found that whenever the Veddah so absolutely truthful in his wild free state, came into contact with the Cingalese or Tamil, he was in the condition so aptly described as "the last state of that man was worse than the first," and that he was no longer to be relied upon.

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING held on Wednesday, the 22nd December, 1886.

EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced:—

Surgeon-Major Atmaram S. G. Jayakar, Muscat, Arabia; Dorabji Peshutomji Dastur, Chundunwadi, Bombay; J. Leask, Municipality, Bombay; Mohendra Lal Sircar, M.D., C.I.E., Calcutta; Syed Kutubudin Idroos, Byculla, Bombay; W. Nethersole, B.C.S., Settlement Officer, Sambalpore, Central Provinces.

The following Note was read:—

ON BETROTHAL *among the* VADNAGARÁ NÁGAR BRÁHMANS *at* NADIAD.

By GOVARDHANRAM M. TRIPATHI, B.A., LL.B.

The Nágar Bráhmans of Nadiad are of the *Vaidika* (priestly) section, and so have naturally shown a tendency to conservatism. At the same time the total absence of the *Grihastha* (lay) section from that town has compelled the existing community to depend upon temporal professions for a livelihood. This circumstance has had its influence in giving impetus to independence and progress.

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Privilege and manner of choice.

1. The first topic that presents itself for consideration in connection with our subject, is the right of choosing the bride for the bridegroom and *vice versâ*. Twenty years ago the number of girls to that of boys, in the caste, was in the approximate proportion of 30 to 70. The small number of girls then secured to their fathers the privilege of choice. The father of the son had no such privilege, and he could not decline to accept a girl, except in a few privileged cases where he could command the sympathy of the caste. Claim to such a privilege on the ground of mere influence could never be made, as the independent spirit of the caste brooked no distinctions merely based upon either influence or wealth. The rich and the influential both equally shrank from rejecting an offered bride, except when there was a likelihood of securing the sympathy of the caste. Circumstances, under which sympathy was likely to be accorded, were well known to all. Incurable or serious infirmities in the girl's body or mind, or quarrelsome, intolerable or vicious tendencies of her parents, would have justified her rejection in the eyes of the caste; not so complexion of the body, disparity of age or beauty, poverty or the like. A man rejecting an offer upon any of the latter grounds, incurred the obloquy of the caste and felt pretty sure of having no other offer made to him by anyone else. One desirous of celibacy was, however, at liberty to reject.

To avoid clashes the bride's parents calculated the likelihood of rejection, and abstained from offering where such existed. Where their offer was prudent, the richest man would incur, by rejecting it, the reputation of being avowedly "proud"—a consequence which the caste, sometimes, followed up with other annoyances, likely to put him to humiliation.

2. At present, however, the proportion of boys to girls is about 50 to 50, the latter having nearly doubled in number. Boys are not wanting, but everybody wants a good boy and cannot have. Formerly, a boy's father had no choice as to the

girl, except where he got several offers. The principle as to offer is still the same; but there are many who get a plurality of offers, and can thus *select* a bride. Yet the old principle of not declining 'the first offered' survives, and is avoided by the relatives of the boy by sending secret word to the parents of the desired girl to look sharp and precede in time.

3. The choice being thus unilateral only, we have to see upon what principles the boy was or is chosen. In past times the best principle of choice was considered to be to look to the "*var*" and to the "*ghar*," *i.e.*, to the boy and to his parents. One was said to have looked to the *var* if he chose a boy, handsome, well-behaved, intelligent-looking and clever. Education, as we now understand it, was in its infancy, and did not enter into the balance. A respectable parity in age was approved of, but not sought. Disparity was not looked upon as reprehensible, though the girl was pitied if it was to her manifest disadvantage.

One looked to the *ghar* if he tried to find out a boy whose parents were both alive and good-tempered and, at all events, rich or well to-do. A fatherless son was not likely to be well brought up, and a bride without a mother-in-law was not likely to be taken good care of during her betrothal and during the youthful period after marriage. These circumstances were not considered desirable for the bride. The chief feature of a good *ghar* was, however, its pecuniary condition, which often overweighed all other considerations, including those connected with the *var* himself.

In stray instances, men looked to the *var* alone, and not to the *ghar* from the compassionate motive of "Opening a poor *ghar*," *i.e.*, regenerating and assisting a family about to be agnatically extinguished.

4. Education has at present more or less penetrated into almost every family in the caste. There would be now many people willing to open poor *ghars*, if *vars* were educated. But it happens that good *ghars* alone possess educated *vars*. The present tendency, however, is to look to the qualification of

the *var* more than to that of the *ghar*. Nay, there have been cases in which the *ghar* was completely ignored and gave place to considerations about the *var*. Two results of these circumstances have been apparent of late: First, cases have occurred in which *vars* with *ghars* have broken in upon the principle of the privilege of choice, and ventured to reject brides upon grounds, such as disparity of age, expectations of better brides, dislike for the bride or her family, and the like; and secondly, *vars* of good *ghars* who, in old days, would have been affianced in their cradles, have comparatively grown up in age without getting brides simply because they have not yet come up to the advanced tests for the *var*. Other ancillary results have also followed:—Thus (1) the practice of confining betrothals to the native place of the bride is beginning to be deviated from; (2) those who are not themselves good *vars* and have no good *ghars* find themselves despairingly in want of wives and try to obtain offers of brides; (3) the notions about both the *var* and the *ghar* are becoming enlarged, and while a number of men will find themselves without brides for good, a new class of mediocre men will shortly crop up, unaffianced in infancy, and in a position to get good wives at a period of age and life most convenient to themselves. The difficulty of finding good *vars* in the present caste will compel the parents of girls to wait until the change of doubtful *vars* into good ones by the advance of age is apparent. It will require some time yet, before this time arrives; but when it does arrive, a sure blow will have been dealt against the present system. In the meanwhile, both women and men are being matured for the coming change.

Negotiations between the parties.

5. The privilege of choice having thus remained intact till now in theory, in spite of these practical changes, negotiations are always commenced by the parents of the bride except to the extent noted above. Owing to some of these practical changes, the parents of the boy have of late occasionally tried

to open negotiations with the parents of the girl; but, except in stray instances, none has ventured to do so directly. One either sends word through some one who is equally a relative of both parties, or manages to flatter the vanity of, or be in some way serviceable to, some one who could effectually communicate the request to the family of the bride. The communication was in former times on actual supplication ; it is at present sometimes a solicitation, and sometimes a polite request. But in neither case is it that kind of negotiation which the father of the bride opens as of right. His way is to ask for the horoscope of the intended boy. The demand is not made where there is no intention of choosing a boy, and, when made, is generally complied with. As soon as this horoscope is to hand, he submits it along with the horoscope of his daughter, to the family astrologer, who is asked to see if both the horoscopes *tally* with each other. The examination of the astrologer consists in drawing several comparisons between the respective positions of the girl and the boy from an astrological point of view, and decides whether the boy and the girl will prove an agreeable match, whether the boy will outlive the girl or both will live a pretty long life, whether the relatives of the boy will prove agreeable to the girl, and so on. Formerly, if all these questions were answered favourably by the astrologer, it was resolved to form the match. If he answered unfavourably the horoscope of the boy was returned, the result communicated, and the negotiations brought to an end. Nobody thought further of the affair. The astrologer had thus an important part to play; but notwithstanding all that, it was generally beyond his power to cheat the parties. The demand for the horoscope was generally sudden, so that there was very little chance of fabricating it. Another safeguard against its fabrication was, that the outlines of at least some of its contents were generally well known to a circle of relatives, it being usual to invite them to attend at the reading of the horoscope by the family astrologer a few days after the birth of the child.

Moreover, the members of the caste, not excluding women, sometimes know how to examine a horoscope. As soon as the horoscope of the boy was handed over, it would pass through several inquisitive hands. The astrologer himself had sometimes to pass through a cross-examination. This took away all chance of receiving false answers from the astrologer. The parents of the girls felt keenly interested in securing her future happiness, and no stone was left unturned in order to see that the *ghar, var* and horoscope, the circumstances, seen and unseen, were all favourable. It was, however, the privilege of the parents of the girl to do all this, and sometimes they found it more consonant with the worldly interests of the girl to omit consulting the horoscope, as, for instance, when the desired boy was likely to be taken up for some other girl and there was no time to wait. The omission to consult the horoscope was then atoned for by doing something to propitiate the stars, if they were discovered to be unfavourable to the match. This atonement was a religious fiction which quieted superstitious fears and was, generally, a harmless and convenient thing.

The horoscopes, though still consulted and compared as a necessary matter of form, are always made to show the desired result; for it is considered quite sufficient, if they *tally* in *some* respects. Worldly advantages of the match make up for the remaining astrological discrepancies. If, however, there are some superstitious members in the family, they are either ignored or prevailed upon. The consultation is, however, almost always made, if convenient, to avoid being held to have wilfully omitted to foresee any untoward events which may occur subsequently.

The negotiations do not embrace any further business; for it is always an implied understanding that either party is ready and willing to conform to the fixed custom of the caste in all matters of reciprocal rights and duties, including *pallá* itself. Sometimes, however, it may happen that there is nobody in the boy's family who can be held responsible by the mem-

bers of the girl's family; in such a case somebody privately undertakes, or is considered as undertaking, such responsibility.

6. If the negotiations are successful, the members of the family hold consultations with a view to following up the astrological results with actual betrothal. The eldest agnatic members of the bride's family have not only the casting vote, but lead and control the consultations. The sense of the parents of the girl is sometimes gathered, sometimes inferred, and sometimes presumed to be one of acquiescence, where the grand-parents are living and managing the family concerns. The ladies of the family have their voice; friends and relatives are consulted, and sometimes the little girl herself privately and funnily caressed and asked by some of the ladies which of the *vars* would suit her fancy. The matter is in the end settled by the most influential member of the family in a manner considered likely to please everybody. Whoever may influence the decision most, it is thought desirable to satisfy the vanity of the elders of the family, and decision is generally accepted as being theirs. As soon as this is done, all previous differences of opinion are forgotten, and everybody, whatever his or her previous opinion, welcomes the proposed *var*, and the question of choice terminates.

Ceremonies and manner of Betrothal.

7. The interesting point to note here is the history of the influential members and the way in which his or her influence has been exercised. *Of minor but actual interest is the variety* of the influences brought to bear upon the consultation by the ladies and other subordinate members.

At one time the betrothal of the girl was mostly under the influence of the eldest lady of the family, or of the lady strongest in the house. The male members thought of the betrothal as a mere household matter, safest left in the hands of the women. They only suggested or advised, seldom interfered or took any active part. The educational test had then no part to

play in looking to the *var*, and ladies were quite equal to the consideration of the other tests. The introduction of this new test has more or less transferred these functions from the ladies to the males of the family. Elderly males, however, still retain their old indifference, and it is the males of the younger generation that play the influential part. But even they are not able to do so unimpeded, unless they are respected in the family, which circumstance is, in its turn, conditional upon their power of contributing to the earning capacity of the family.

The ancillary influences exerted, are based upon a variety of grounds. Thus one lady says, "Oh, this boy is related to my husband," and another, "If you give her to X, she and I shall live in the same house." The boy is perhaps related to one of the members. Sometimes there is even a selfish motive. One member says, "If you give the girl to X, girl Y will remain eligible for my brother; if you do not, Y will go to X and my brother will remain a bachelor." Sometimes the motive is purely a sentimental or æsthetical one. They say, "The boy is charming, and so is the girl; they will form an excellent match." Sometimes a betrothal is an act of friendship, and sometimes it is the indulgence of mere fancy on the part of some lady. The considerations of *var* and *ghar*, however, always predominate in the consultations. And the choice becomes a happy one when all the influence centres in an identical choice. These interesting circumstances are at present of rare occurrence. For, the number of good boys having diminished, the question of choice arises with only a limited scope.

8. As soon as the boy is fixed upon, an auspicious day is found out by the astrologer. Sometimes the most convenient day is looked upon as the most auspicious. Sometimes the intention of betrothal is privately communicated to the other party and the day of betrothal is deferred. Sometimes the day is kept a secret, and the pleasure is sought of taking the other party by surprise by making an unexpected betrothal.

On the day fixed, the girl is well dressed and taken by her elder sister or her father's sister* to the house of the boy. The boy is brought forward. The girl's sister says to the parents of the boy, "We give our sister to your son." The saffron mark is then applied to the forehead of the boy. The bride and company are then asked to take seats and are given molasses. Ten Rupees are given to the sister for the happy communication. Tom-toms are sent for, and the intervening time is passed in happy conversation with the new relatives. Other relatives pour in to congratulate, and return with leaf-cups, full of molasses. As soon as the tom-toms arrive, the bride and company return home with the tom-toms sounding in their van. The happy news is passed from mouth to mouth and published, as the little procession moves on and the noise invites people out of their houses. Before the party reaches home the whole caste is aware of the news, and the parents of the bride pass a day in receiving expressions of thanks from the relatives of the boy; with the conclusion of the day the interest of the betrothal merges in the performances of the duties it creates.

A similar party is also sent to the house of the boy's mother's father, and returns after making the auspicious communication and exchanging similar civilities.

When the boy is not at home, his presence is dispensed with.

The essential part of the betrothal is the *honkáro,* or the announcement. This consists in one of the relatives of either party passing on the public road and communicating to all who may be present that girl X is given to boy Y ; the *honkáro* is generally made by some one of the bride's party while returning with the tom-toms, but may also be made by

* The prominent part allowed to the sister in these ceremonies is only a

manner, of old associations, and are made to feel and recognize that they are connected by blood—have one parentage—have not forgotten each other.

a relative of the boy, and would be good if not immediately contradicted by the other party. The tom-toms are usual, but not indispensable.

Effect and duration of Betrothal.

9. The betrothal creates only a revocable tie. The sense of the caste is expressed by the saying, "The *var* might have to return even from the *toraṇa*." The *toraṇa* is a leaf-garland forming a gateway-arch at the house of the bride under which the bridegroom has to pass, a little before the hour of nuptials. Except, however, for very strong reasons, the betrothal is never revoked. The parents of the bride, whose exclusive privilege it is to revoke, take care not to betroth unless they see the total absence of any occasion for revocation. They express the inviolability of the tie by saying, "These *var* and *kanyá* are to our minds as it were already married." It is considered a torture and a piece of wanton cruelty towards the *var* to revoke a betrothal without sufficiently strong cause. The sigh of a *var* whose betrothal is revoked, is considered something to be religiously and superstitiously kept off. The reason for an early betrothal is that a choice has to be made out of the existing stock of eligible boys, and not out of those who may be born subsequently to the girl, and that to delay betrothal would not only be meaningless but also injurious, inasmuch as the existing number of eligible boys is diminished every day and the field for choice proportionately narrowed.

Betrothal, unless revoked, merges in marriage, which of course is irrevocable for ever, and is usually deferred to the latest hour possible. The marriage generally takes place during the 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th year of the girl, according to the temporal and religious convenience of her parents.

Revocation also is the exclusive privilege of the bride's parents. The bridegroom never revokes. It is not considered his interest to do so. Revocation on his part would be looked upon as the very height of presumption. But the parties may agree to make a novation, *e. g.*, E and F may agree to inter-

change brides and bridegrooms. Nobody would have to grudge in such a case, and the caste is not displeased where there is no complaint.

The story of these betrothals is a simple one. But it has several aspects, and each aspect is interesting and instructive. The ceremonies are not many, but have a touching significance. The moment is one of some excitement to the family, which is shared, more or less, by the whole caste. The contract is made in unmistakable terms, and the *honkáro* is only an oral attestation.

The history is the history of a progress, and teaches a lesson which may be observed and utilised. The *modus operandi* of self-development; the silent, safe, steady, and sure working of education; the influences which new circumstances bring to bear upon an old institution; the free scope for individual experiments which the system allows; the solicitude of the caste to resent any attack against its autonomy, and the reasonableness of its solicitude if we admit the law of self-preservation,—these and various other lessons are offered even by the simple story now told, which is only one of many similar ones.

The following Note was then read by the author:—

On the Belief *in the* Evil Eye *among the* Modern Persians.

By John DeCunha, L. M. & S.

Among no people in the present day is the belief in the evil eye more devoutly and universally held than among the Persians.

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There is a tradition current among them, that it was the opinion of the Prophet that no less than three-fourths of mankind died of the effects of the evil eye.

It is curious to note, even among Persian ladies and gentlemen of European culture and refinement, how they persist in wearing their talismans and amulets, though they profess to have no belief in them.

Causes of the evil eye.—As a rule, it is induced in those who are under the influence of intense emotion, especially when it takes the form of love, jealousy or hatred, but it is quite independent of the will.

The eye of a king may affect a beggar in the street; the eye of the mother may hurt the babe at her bosom.

If a pregnant woman see a corpse she will bear a child with an evil eye.

The evil eye may be invited by beauty, by an exceptional run of luck, or by anything that is valuable or attractive.

A lying-in woman and a nursing mother are specially liable to be affected.

Effects.—The effects of the evil eye are destructive: beauty withers, property is destroyed, or disease attacks the part that attracted the evil eye.

Gems have been known to crack or split under its influence.

Modes of averting or neutralizing the effects of the evil eye.

1. Take a black hen or sheep, best of all a black hen with recurved feathers (*ultá pur ká moorghee*), walk it three times round the sufferer, or, if that be not feasible, let the patient touch the animal on the forehead.

The animal is then taken out of the house for some distance and set at liberty, and no man can molest or capture it.*

(This results from Leviticus xvi. 10: the goat "shall be presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with

* This is the theory. In practice it is found that people whose superstitions have been dispelled by hunger are willing to risk the evil eye or anything else by pouncing down upon the *coorban* for a square meal.

Him, and *to let him go* for a scape-goat into the wilderness").

2. You doubtless know that the *Bukree-eed*, observed twenty days before the *Mohorrum*, is commemorative of the vicarious sacrifice offered by Abraham when his faith was put to painful proof at Jehovah-Jireh.

(*a*) An eye of the sheep that is sacrificed on *Bukree-eed* is taken, enclosed in a ball of wax, and dried into a bead; the wax is then scraped off and the bead worn in the hair or round the neck, usually by women and children.

(*b*) Rub up a little of this bead with water and give it as a drink to the sufferer, or use it as a lotion to the affected part.

3. (*a*) A piece of linen is steeped in the blood of the sheep sacrificed on the *Bukree-eed*, sewn up in a bag, and worn on the person; or

(*b*) A little of the dried blood is rubbed up with water and given as a drink to the patient, or applied as a lotion to the affected part.

4. Take in the right hand, alum, chillies, salt, and the skin of garlic, and make six passes from the head down to the feet of the sufferer, chanting the following formula:—

شنبه زاد یکشنبه زاد دوشنبه زاد سه شنبه زاد چهارشنبه زاد
همسایه دست راست وهمسایه دست چپ اهل زمین وحاضروغائب

"(Defend us) from (the evil eye) of people born on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, from neighbours on the right hand and on the left, from spirits of the earth, from the visible and the invisible."

This charm works best on Tuesday and Saturday nights. At the last pass make a sound as of kissing.

It is not to be performed on Thursday and Friday.

Friday is considered a very lucky day among the Persians.

Then throw the contents of the hand into the fire and see whether the alum assume the shape of (*a*) a human being or

(*b*) an animal. Verdict accordingly either of (*a*) evil eye or (*b*) demoniacal possession.

5. Plunge a red-hot horse-shoe into water that is used as a drink by the sufferer.

6. Cut off the tips of the sufferer's eye-lashes and give them to him in a drink.

7. A handful of dust gathered from the junction of four roads applied to the affected part.

8. A dumb-bell-shaped piece of alum worn in the hair or round the neck.

9. The agate has great repute against the evil eye. Chalcedony, jasper, or the white-veined onyx is set in a ring, bracelet, or necklace, or worn as a pendant.

10. A piece of an alloy of seven metals, known as *Haftjoos.* said to be composed of (1) gold, (2) silver, (3) copper, (4) zinc, (5) iron, (6) lead, and (7) brass, is perforated and worn as a pendant.

11. The precious stone called the cat's eye is a sovereign remedy and preventive against the evil eye.

The turquoise is a favourite with both sexes, but it is of use against the evil eye only during small-pox and measles, when it is worn with three pearls and a peacock's feather on a fillet round the forehead of the patient.

12. A miniature copy of the Koran or of parts of the Koran sewn up in a bag, or enclosed in a locket of silver or gold, and worn on the arm or round the neck.

13. Quotations from the Koran written on paper, and enclosed in a locket, or inscribed on plates of gold, silver, or copper, and worn on the arm or round the neck. Mystic figures, letters, or astrological symbols inscribed in the square, circle, triangle, or pentacle, either written on paper and enclosed in a locket, or engraved on plates of gold, silver, or copper, and worn on the arm or round the neck.

14. The expression *Mashallah* must be used to avert the evil eye before you praise any person or thing. The omission of the word will create alarm or give offence.

15. At cards and dice the loser invariably attributes his ill-luck to the evil eye, and either blows on the cards or dice in his hand, or makes a gesture of spitting on his coin before he tosses it into the pool.

16. It is not an unfrequent practice for a visitor of either sex to offer or to be asked for a small piece of the cord that fastens the Persian dress round the waist. This piece is burnt, and either rubbed on the body or used in a drink by the member of the household for whom it is intended.

17. (*a*) If any one be suspected of having an evil eye, scrape off a little of the dust of his shoes and rub it on the affected part;

or

(*b*) Cut off secretly a small piece of his clothing, burn it and give the ashes in a drink to the sufferer.

It is interesting to remember in this connection I Sam. xviii. 9: "And Saul *eyed* David from that day forward." And also the incident in the cave in the wilderness of Engedi (I. Sam. xxiv. 4): "David arose and cut off the skirt of Saul's robe *privily*."

18. Persians resident in India frequently borrow from their Hindu neighbours methods for the cure of the evil eye that are not connected with the use of mystic formulæ.

Thus the follower of the Prophet has no objection to use a *yantra* after it has been translated into Arabic; but he regards with pious abhorrence the *mantras* of that slippery son of perdition, the misbelieving Brahman.

Ordinary General Meeting held on Wednesday, the 26th of January, 1887.

Edward Tyrrell Leith, LL.M., K.C.I., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced :—

Mr. Mehdi Hasan, Chief Justice, Hyderabad, Deccan ; Mr. A. Sheshadri, Barrister-at-law, High Court, Bombay ; Mr. Ramchandra Jagannathji, Fanaswadi, Bombay.

It was proposed by the President, seconded by Mr. Justice Hart, and carried unanimously, that Messrs. Kharsetji Rastamji Cama and E. R. Calthrop be elected auditors to audit the accounts of the Society.

The following Paper was read by the author :—

Note *on* Mumiyai.

By Bgde.-Surgeon W. Dymock.

Mumiyai is a Persian word, regarding the exact derivation of which there is some difference of opinion. Some consider it to be simply a corruption of *mum-i-abi*, or water-wax, so named because it exudes from the rock along with a bituminous water upon which it floats ; others say that the word should be *mum-i-ayin*, or Ayin-wax, so named from Ayin, a village near which it is found ; a third derivation is *mum-ayin, i.e*, wax-like. The same word, in the form of *mumia*, occurs in late Latin and

Greek writers, who evidently became acquainted with it through the Arabs, who write it *mumiya*. The substance, to which the name was originally applied, is found only at Darabjird in Persia. The Greeks and Romans were acquainted with bitumen and naphtha, and with a substance called πιττάσφαλτος, which was washed down from the Ceraunian mountains in Epirus (DIOS. I. 84, 85, 86) Their bitumen and naphtha are described as products of Persia, and were used for embalming and various other purposes, especially in Egypt, but they were evidently not Persian *mumiyai*, a substance found in such a small quantity as to be a perquisite of the Persian kings. Gradually the word *mumia* appears to have been loosely applied in Europe to bituminous substances used in embalming, and, lastly, to the embalmed body itself. This Egyptian *mumia*, or "mummy," does not appear to have been known in the East until a comparatively recent date, as we find the author of the *Makhzan el adwiya*, a Persian physician, who wrote about A.D. 1770, speaking of it as a new thing a learned friend of his had brought from Egypt. He was acquainted with its source, and describes it as a black, shining, sticky substance, containing the remains of bones.

In modern chemistry, the rock oils, some of which are solid and others liquid, come under the class of naphthas. They vary somewhat in different countries from the admixture of various mineral constituents. No particular analysis of Darabjird *mumiyai* appears to have been made. It is black, smooth, shining, and soft, and has a slight odour of naphtha. It softens from the heat of the hand like wax, and though it has not really the wonderful properties ascribed to it by the Persians, it is to a certain extent antiseptic.

The following account of *mumiya* is taken from the *Makhzan el adwiya*:—"*Mumiya* (*Yunani*[1]) in Arabic *Arak-el-jibal* (sweat of the mountains), in Persian *mumiya*. A substance

[1] This is incorrect, as mumiya is not a Greek word.

like pitch, which exudes from fissures in certain mountains. The best is that which is found in Mount Dáráb in the province of Fars in Persia; an inferior kind comes from Istibibánát and Kahkiluyát; other kinds are simply bitumen, and have not the properties of *mumiya*.

"Mulla Ahmed, in the *Tarikh-el-Hukama*, gives the following account of the discovery of *mumiya* :—When Faridun was king, a party of soldiers were hunting in the neighbourhood of Dáráb. One of them wounded a mountain goat, which, although severely hit, escaped, and all their endeavours to find it were in vain. About a week after, they again went hunting in the same direction, and saw the same animal quite well, with the arrow hanging from its side. They were much astonished, and with much difficulty succeeded in catching the goat. Upon examining it, they found *mumiya* adhering to the wound.

"It was evident that the goat had rubbed itself against the spot where the *mumiya* exudes, and that this substance had caused the healing of its wound. When this story reached Faridun he ordered experiments to be made by physicians, who pronounced it to be a remedy of great value for healing wounds, uniting broken bones, &c.

"Another historian says, that Faridun himself, whilst hunting, wounded a deer, which fled towards a place where there was a hollow in the ground, and, licking up some substance, applied it to its wounds, which immediately healed. Faridun being much astonished, called for his wise men, who, on examining the spot, found a substance like gum, exuding from a fissure in the rock. Faridun then gave orders for a guard to be placed over the spot, with directions to forward yearly to court as much as could be collected. From that day up to the present time this practice has been followed. In course of time from the gradual removal of stones to get at the *mumiyai*, the hole has become deeper and is now like a well about 12 feet deep. A large stone is placed over it as a cover, and is constantly watched by the guards. Once a year, 50 to 60 labourers

remove the stone a little to one side so as to allow a man to enter. This man removes the water and the greasy substance, which he finds in the pit; and the guards place it in a large pot, and boil it until the *mumiyai* separates from the water and dirt and is allowed to cool. Then, having stolen some of the drug for their own use, they send the remainder in sealed vessels to the court. The whole quantity obtained yearly is said to be not more than from 150 to 200 *mithkals*[2]; on rare occasions, 300 have been obtained. Another account is: there is a valley in Mount Dáráb, where there is a cleft in the rock, from which the *mumiyai* exudes by drops. Beneath this is placed a large bowl to catch it. When solid, it is removed and sent once a year to court. Other kinds of *mumiyai* are collected in a similar manner, but they are not supposed to have the same virtues."

"The *mumiyai* of the shops is one of these kinds. A small quantity of true *mumiyai* passes privately from hand to hand among the rich. This is either purloined by the guards or given away by the Sultan. A substance like *mumiyai*, but much inferior in virtue, is found in the mountainous parts of India. It is called *silajit*."[3]

Discussion.

The President remarked that *mumiyai* was mentioned by Carreri, who stated that it was distilled by the black stone of Mount Dáráb, from which it trickled down into a basin. It was guarded by troops, and annually collected by Government in a coagulated state, after which it was forwarded to the Sophi in a sealed vessel. Sir William Ouseley described it as a bitumenous substance of a black colour, oozing from the rock, and added that it was deemed by the Persians more pre-

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[2] A *mithkal* is equal to 72 grains.

[3] "It is said to be obtained from rocks in Behar and the Deccan. The Indians say that the black-faced monkey is very fond of eating it, and that it purges him passing through his intestines undigeste[illegible]d is f[illegible]n rocks frequented by these monkeys."

cious than gold, on account of its possessing the property of quickly healing wounds and contusions, uniting fractures of the bones, and curing various complaints when taken internally.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, "mummy" was employed in medicine as a drug. It was purchased at high prices by apothecaries from the oriental Jews, who obtained their supplies from the mummy-tombs of Egypt. Presents of *mumiyai* were made by the Shah of Persia to Louis XIV. and the Prince de Condè, and, later on, at the commencement of the present century, to the courts of London and St. Petersburg. It would be interesting to know whether there was any evidence forthcoming with regard to the use of the substance by the Hindus prior to the Mussulman invasion of India.

The following Note was then read :—

Sancholoos, a Criminal Wandering Tribe;

Their origin, means of livelihood, ostensible and real, and general remarks.

By Col. E. J. Gunthorpe, Staff Corps.

Origin.

The Sancholoos' *true caste* is Donga Sancholoo, and their *assumed caste*, Tirmulli, Phool Mali.

The Sancholoos are a wandering Telinga criminal tribe, and, it appears, originally belonged to and formed part of the Waddur family, but their Gooroo having given them a "*Nanumi*" (long *koonkoo* mark on the forehead), they severed themselves from the Waddurs and became a separate tribe. The men took

to wearing shoes and the women *cholis* (bodices), and jackets.[1] Their original homes were in the Cuddapah, Guntoor, and Kurnool Districts of the Madras Presidency. About the year 1876, *i.e.*, prior to the last famine in those parts, when they were hard-pressed by the police, and several of their members were arrested and convicted for crimes committed by them, they began to disperse by gangs into the neighbouring districts and throughout Telingana generally. By the year 1879 (the year of the famine), it is stated that no Sancholoos remained in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts; thence they spread themselves pretty generally throughout the Deccan. Gangs took up permanent position for certain months in the year (building themselves huts) in Poona, Sattara, Nagpur, Surat, Kallian, Madras, Goolburga, in H. H. Nizam's dominions, and in other large towns. It appears the Sancholoo tribe has three (3) sub-divisions:—

(1) Golla (shepherd) Sancholoos who subsist by begging and prostituting their females.

(2) Bhoir (bearer) Sancholoos, who beg and sell toy poonghus (blow-gourds).

(3) Ooper (salt-makers) Sancholoos.

The first two divisions never leave the Telinga District, the third—originally lived by collecting and selling salt at the salt-springs in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts; but now and for years past, they have been a purely criminal class. Owing to their having taken to this style of livelihood they are now known among the Sancholoo tribe as Donga (thieving) Sancholoos. Gangs leave their homes at the beginning of the rains and, taking their women and children with them, roam about the country, committing crime and hoarding up the proceeds until the end of the cold weather, *i.e.*, February,

[1] Waddurs, let them be ever so rich, never wear shoes of any kind, though they may be open sandals; nor do their females ever wear *cholis* or jackets. Their legend is that in ages gone by rats stole all their shoes, and *cholis*, and as their forefathers were deprived of them, they do not now wear them, and that is why they are inveterate enemies of rats and dig them up and eat them whenever they can.

when, as a rule, they return and pass the hot season in marriages, feasts and riotous living, squandering the ill-gotten gains of their plundering expedition. They are great consumers of liquor, both sexes indulging freely; and they live well, always eating meat and rice and anything that money can purchase. The reason why the rainy and cold seasons are selected for their predatory excursions is thus explained by them:—

"Owing to the noise of the rain, breaking through walls and entrance into houses are not heard by the inmates, and in the cold season people cover themselves all over with blankets, &c., and cannot easily hear any sound made in the house, whereas in the hot or dry season, people, as a rule, sleep in their yards or verandahs and keep awake a great part of the night, and it is feared the least noise would be heard by them."

Castes assumed in different parts of the Deccan.

In the Poona, Sattara, and Nagpur Districts of the Bombay Presidency, in Berar and Central Provinces the Sancholoos pass themselves off as Tirmullis, or as Phool Malis.

In Madras, and in H. H. Nizam's dominions, they call themselves and are known as Tirmulli and also as Sancholoos. In the Surat and Dharwar districts they are known as Chanchoo Dasseris.

Means of Identification.

All talk Telugu among themselves. Generally they have encampments, though sometimes small selected parties bivouac either in the open or under trees. As a rule, they select villages where there are liquor shops to camp near. Their *pâls* or small tents are made up of cloths of all colour, patched and lined with *kummuls* (blankets). About their encampments or bivouacs will be found bullocks, ponies, goats and dogs, never donkeys.

Páls, goods and chattels are carried from place to place on the backs of either ponies or bullocks. Men go into villages begging with a bunch of peacock feathers and a bell or gong,

and sometimes (those who can afford it) also with a white conch-shell.

Women and children often accompany them. At the encampments, in the several *pâls*, are to be found small supplies of beads, needles, thread, and pieces of sandalwood. These are shown as means of livelihood when questioned.

In one encampment I found a bottle of English sugared almonds which I was told were sold as medicine at 3 pice each!

In truth, none of the above articles are sold, but merely kept for show. In one *pâl* were found three pieces of sandalwood which, it was discovered through the women, had been in their possession for seven or eight years.

Costume of Males and Females.

The men wear *dhoturs*, a white turban occasionally, a coloured kerchief tied loosely round the head, and a sheet thrown over their persons. Those who can afford it wear an *angrakha* (coat). All have their ears bored, and men wear rings like Marwaris. Almost all have a necklace composed generally of two rows of wooden beads intermixed with coral and agate. With the exception of a small tuft of hair on the crown, heads are kept clean shaved, moustaches are worn, and except among the older men, chins are shaved.

Silver or silk *kardadas* are worn, as also armlets, but adult Sancholoos never have on a *kadda* (wristlet), as they say only females should have anything in the way of bangles on. All kinds of covering to the feet are used, from sandals to North-Country shoes, according to each individual's fancy. Different kinds are especially worn at the time of setting out to commit crimes, with a view to mislead by their tracks.

Female attire consists of *choli* and *sari* of the Telinga fashion: the hair is tied in a bunch at the back of the head. Forearms and foreheads are tattooed. The special distinguishing mark on the latter is in the shape of a V with a dot in the centre (V). A nose-ring shaped like a hook (*Mookun*) with

coral and gold beads affixed to it is worn on the left side of the nose. Several necklets of kinds are worn by each female. The usual ones are composed of black beads intermingled with gold and coral, or of strings of coral and agate beads. In addition every married woman wears strings of black beads with gold pendant (*Thalli*). Silver and glass bangles are used, with a silver armlet on the right arm. Except among the elderly females, shoes are forbidden. Should a young woman wear them she is fined by the caste. This is a remnant of the custom of their ancestors, the Waddurs.

Language.

Both sexes speak the Telugu and Canarese languages fluently, the former being their mother-tongue. All, especially the males, are conversant with Urdu and Maráthi, but when they are questioned by Police Officers or Government servants they pretend ignorance of those languages to produce a belief that they are entirely new to the part of the country where they are found and have only just come in from Telingana. They have, besides, a slang peculiar to themselves.

Ostensible Means of Livelihood.

The males go into villages begging with a ging (*jakotti*), a bunch of peacock feathers (*Numli-hendloo*), and a white conch shell (*Shankoo*). When begging they strike the ging, shake the feathers, sound the shells and repeat *Rama, Latchmi, Govinda,* also *Ballajikeybuggutdeo.* Women often accompany the men on these occasions. In the Telingana should alms be refused, the men, to frighten the people into giving, threaten to run an iron skewer through their own cheeks and sometimes carry out the threat (several men of a gang showed scars to prove this). I have already mentioned that at their encampments pieces of sandalwood, thread, needles and beads are shewn as articles sold for obtaining a livelihood.

Real Means of Livelihood.

Gang robbery, burglary, cutting jewellery off the persons of slumbering women and children, as well as men in the houses broken into and in sheds and verandahs; thefts of all kinds, however small the articles; picking pockets in crowds; carrying off bales of goods from inside tents at fairs, or from off carts on the march when drivers are asleep. No violent crime is committed, but should one of them be captured when at work, his companions who are always about, will assuredly do all in their power to rescue him, by attacking the capturer or capturers with sticks, by biting and kicking, the shins being favourite spots. As far as can be ascertained arms are not carried when going to commit crime.

Mode of committing Crime.

While begging as described above the men take note of the different rooms in a house, means of ingress, the number of inmates and the ornaments worn. After thus going the round of a village or town a house is selected. As a rule the house at which alms have been solicited will not be robbed on the same day, but 2 or 3 days are allowed to pass They will not commit crime on the village in which they are encamped, but go to those which are 7 or 8 or even fewer miles off. The village and house having been pitched upon, half or more of the strongest men of the gang armed with sticks set out about 10 at night going by a circuitous route. Rainy or very cold nights are selected. Those who possess house-breaking implements take them. Sancholoos, rarely, if ever, make an entrance through a wall. The usual mode is to make a hole beside a door or window frame on the latch side, then pass the hand in and undo the fastening, and thus enter. The most expert goes in, leaving one or two companions near the entrance outside, while the rest of the party are posted about to give the alarm should necessity arise. Property is then passed out to the man nearest the entrance, who in his turn

passes it on. If articles of jewellery cannot be unfastened properly off the person, they are dexterously cut by means of a penknife. It is half-opened, and the article to be cut is put between the half open blade and the handle, which are then pressed together. All copper and brass utensils are taken. Should the locks on large boxes or on doors of cupboards be easily wrenched open, that is accomplished and contents appropriated. Small boxes are carried off and broken open some distance off. On the return home a different route is taken than the one they came by. As often as not, the property is buried *en route* to the encampment; otherwise it is so disposed of immediately on arrival. The day after the commission of a crime not a single male leaves the encampment, all pretending to be laid up with some ailment, commonly with fever and rheumatism. After 2 or 3 days, the property is unearthed and equally divided, widows and orphans getting equal shares with the men.

Each then conceals his or her share. Sometimes it so happens that all the spoils collected at one place are taken on the night before a move, by an old woman of the gang, to the next stage and division is made there. If it be deemed necessary to learn the ins and outs of a walled enclosure, and an overhanging tree is available, Sancholoos beg as Panjals do, *i.e.*, they spread a cloth at the foot of the tree and getting up into the branches, sit there calling out for alms, and thus effect a great reconnoitre of the position.

Modes of secreting Property.

Articles of jewellery are as soon as possible either cut up into small pieces or melted (nearly every owner of a pâl is possessed of melting implements and a pair of jeweller's scales), and secreted in some one of the following modes: —

(1) By burying.

(2) By putting into the hollow of the bamboos of their *pâls* and then plugging up.

(3) By putting them into the secret pockets of a deer-skin bag which they all possess. These bags are made of 4 folds of the dry skin of the antelope: two being fastened together on each side with piping of leather along the top with a running network of twine (which can easily be unfastened) to make each side appear as if made of one piece.

Thus each bag has in reality 3 pockets, whereas only one, or the central one, is visible to the uninitiated. It is in these side or secret pockets that gold and silver is put; the central compartment being filled with *supari* nuts, betel leaves and another kind of nuts used for clarifying water. On the bag being searched it is turned upside down and being considered empty is thrown on one side, no one, not up to the dodge, dreaming of the side secret pockets. The skin being hard and rough and with the hair on, the small pieces of gold and silver are not easily felt. Each bag is about 14×10 inches. The piping down the sides is also made hollow to hold bars of gold and silver.

(4) By putting them into the false bottom of their winnowing baskets (*soop*).

This is a neat and clever contrivance, the baskets being specially made to order. In addition to the ordinary bottom, another and finer piece of matting is made in the exact shape to fit on the top. It is fastened all round the edges to the bamboo framework by the ordinary slips of bamboo. It is between these two bottoms that gold and silver flattened out is secreted and the edges re-fastened. The careful policeman during a search, not wishing to leave the contents of any utensils unexamined, wants to turn grain and flour out of all the pots. The females rush forward with their empty winnowing baskets and beg hard that the contents may not be thrown on the ground and spoiled, but as a favour be emptied into the baskets. The unsuspecting policeman, not [illegible] to

damage grain or flour, does as asked, little thinking that between the folds of those empty unsuspicious looking flat baskets may be hundreds of rupees worth of gold and silver.

(5) In small pockets sewn into the folds of the women's *sadis*.

(6) In the folds of their *pâls* (coverings).

(7) In small bags let into all conceivable nooks and corners of their pack saddles.

(8) In their rice pounders a hollow is scooped out, jewellery put in and the hole plugged up very neatly that it may hardly be seen.

(9) In the hollows of their bamboo tatties.

These people, young and old, male as well as female, are exceedingly smart at burying small articles of jewellery on the very spot where they may be sitting. I saw a case whilst a gang was being searched in my presence.

Disposal of Property.

Articles of unbroken jewellery are sold to village jewellers, the vendors passing themselves off as *Koonities* (a Telinga merchant tribe, who wander about the country exchanging brass and copper utensils for old clothing or pieces of jewellery). Patels of villages also are sometimes the purchasers. Brass and copper pots are generally sold or mortgaged to Waddurs or Dheds or Mangs. Cloths, &c., are sold to whoever will buy.

General Remarks.

These Sancholoos, who are also called Tirmullees, or Phoolmalis, but whom I strongly suspect to be a branch of the Karwarroo, a Kaikari tribe, are, males as well as females, a most daring and desperate class of criminals. Let a gang enter a District and its presence is immediately known by an outburst of crime of sorts in the surrounding villages of their encampment.

Mangarodis and other criminal tribes to which people of this part of India are accustomed are as nothing when compared with these inveterate and daring criminals. Being strangers to Marathi-speaking countries and passing themselves off as poor vendors of sandalwood and trifles and as religious mendicants, they pass as harmless people and are never suspected. They are cunning in assuming the caste of Tirmullee, for true Tirmullees are a harmless and honest class who subsist by selling sandalwood, *koonkoo*, &c. They call themselves Tirmullees, have sandal, &c., for sale, and the apathetic villager is satisfied. None seem so ignorant of the criminal classes of the country as the very people on whom they prey. It is sufficient to be a religious mendicant; nobody knows that it is a wolf in sheep's clothing; the wolf is never thought of but the clothing excites the sympathy of the masses. I well remember a case in point. A large gang of *Byragis* entered a rich town in the District, of course according to their own account poor men bent on a pilgrimage to some distant place; but they were recognized as being Bunris or Budducks in disguise (a notorious class of criminals); several of the leading men were arrested and sent up for security. All the *sarcars* and rich men of the town came up *en masse* and tendered security, and were very irate that poor *Byragis* should be thought criminals! A reference was made to the part of the country whence they came. They were recognized, by the descriptive rolls and the false names they gave, as being some of the worst criminals in those parts (Gwalior Territory), who had started disguised on a plundering expedition to the Deccan!

This brief account of the criminal tribe is the [illegible] of careful enquiry extending over a period of some [illegible] everything that I have [illegible] been to[illegible] hope that this sample [illegible] of [illegible] in India is like will pro[illegible]

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING held on Thursday, the 7th April 1887.

Captain R. C. TEMPLE, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., M.A.I., B.S.C., *President, in the Chair.*

The election of the following new members was announced:—

VAMAN ABÁJI MODAK, B. A., Principal, Elphinstone High School, Bombay.

The President delivered the following address :—

The FORMATION AND USES *of an* ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

This Society has set forth in its rules that one of its objects shall be to form a Museum illustrative of the races, castes, religions, superstitions, arts, manners and customs of India; and it is regarding the method of creating such a Museum that I desire to address you this evening.

It may be said that there are three ways of collecting a Museum of anthropological objects: the first we should, I think, altogether eschew, though it is the easiest and therefore the most likely to be followed, unless we deliberately set our faces against it; and the last two we should make it our constant endeavour to efficiently compass. The first may be called the antiquarian method, the second the ethnological, and the third the sociological. By the antiquarian method I mean the collecting together of heterogeneous objects connected with mankind for no other reason than that they are old or rare or interesting or curious. The antiquarian pure and simple is not a man of science in any sense, and if he sets to work to make a collection of any kind it is sure to partake somewhat of the nature of a curiosity shop—to consist, in fact, of odds and ends interesting enough in their way individually no doubt, but illustrating no

principles and imparting no instruction. Now I take it that we desire our Museum to be a scientific one—to teach by [illegible] ocular demonstration the guiding principles of the [illegible] of mankind and of the evolution of culture, [illegible] well-known phrase of General Pitt-Rivers. This [illegible] only for our own sakes, but also for the sake of [illegible] favour us with a visit. Now if we would make [illegible] for profitable study—a place from which a [illegible] instructed and wiser than when he entered it, [illegible] contents must be no hap-hazard collection of [illegible] curiosities. But since the donors must of [illegible] various, you will perceive that, unless [illegible] prevent it, there is a real danger of our [illegible] miscellaneous to be anything else. [illegible] steps for our purpose will be to [illegible] will further our objects, and to fill up by [illegible] the gaps in the supplies received from [illegible] Of course, the most desirable method of [illegible] Museum would be the deliberate [illegible] systematically procured because of [illegible] sequence, but this is so far beyond [illegible] bilities at present that we [illegible] efforts as above described.

Having thus explained what I [illegible] I will pass on to suggestions [illegible] been already said, there are [illegible] collecting our Anthropological [illegible] gether tribe by tribe and [illegible] objects indicating the general [illegible] country, and thus [illegible] we can so arrange it that [illegible] and their transmission from [illegible] locality to another [illegible] sociological collection. [illegible] and thus give [illegible]

culture. This should be our goal. We should, I submit, do our utmost to gather together side by side two collections on these two distinct systems—one to show the individual development of each race and one to show the general development of all the races of India taken as a whole. In either case our collection must be brought together as systematically as we can, and for our purpose I can hardly too strongly or too persistently bring to your notice, that it is *not* curiosities that we want and *not* things that are rare or extraordinary, but those that are common and typical, firstly, of the mental development of the races which made them, and secondly, of the mind of man generally—for it should be remembered that the human mind speaks as clearly through human art as through human speech. All this will naturally involve the gathering together of duplicates of each object, but we need not apprehend overwhelming difficulty in this, since it is common and not rare articles that we require; so that while procuring one specimen it will be easy to get a second.

The proper method of collecting objects typical of each race or country needs very little explanation and, indeed, what explanation is required is involved in a consideration of the more complicated subject of a sociological museum. I will therefore pass directly on to that part of my discourse, and in doing so will follow in the steps of General Pitt-Rivers, the originator of the idea, and the creator, in the first instance, of the now splendid anthropological collection at Oxford that goes by his name.

Some years ago, at the time of the introduction of the rifle, General Pitt-Rivers was a member of the Committee appointed to enquire into the best forms of guns, and in the course of his enquiries he was brought to see that guns were no sudden invention, but the result of a long series of successive partial alterations in existing weapons, whose history had become forgotten, as they became absorbed in the general course of progress. He had thus hit upon the principle of gradual deve-

lopment from a simple source, and on setting to work to make a general collection of weapons of all times and of all peoples he soon discovered that what applied to guns applied equally to any and every kind of weapon and tool; and thence he went on to a museum illustrative of human arts and ideas generally, of whatever kind, finding in due course that the principle of gradual development suggested step by step by what had preceded runs through the whole history of human culture. This is the doctrine he endeavoured to enforce by his museum, and it is, beyond doubt, that which we also should endeavour to inculcate by the one we are now establishing here in Bombay. No one article constructed by man for his use, even the very simplest, has been invented outright. Everything manufactured, every method of manufacturing, every idea in the mind even that lies behind the work of the hands, has a history of development, which it is the object of an anthropological museum to make patent. If we hold fast to this great leading idea we shall not go far wrong in any collection we may gather together in order to illustrate it.

Now being unable to form both a sociological and an ethnological collection such as I have above described, General Pitt-Rivers decided, and rightly I think, to limit himself—since he had to choose between them—to the former, as being the most instructive of the two. The object he set before him, to use his own words, was so to arrange his collection as "to demonstrate, either actually or hypothetically, the development and continuity of the material arts from the simpler to the more complex forms; to explain the conservatism of savage and barbarous races and the pertinacity with which they retain their ancient types of art; to show the variations by means of which progress has been effected and the application of varieties to distinct uses; to exhibit survivals or the vestiges of ancient forms which have been retained through natural selection in the more advanced stages of the arts, and reversion

to ancient types; to illustrate the arts of prehistoric times as far as practicable by those of existing savages in corresponding stages of civilisation; to assist the question of the monogenesis or polygenesis of certain arts; whether they are exotic or indigenous in the countries in which they are found."

To this end he brought together from different countries objects of the same class, placing the varieties of each class from the same localities side by side, and showing the geographical distribution of each class by means of distribution maps. In fact, he practically illustrated the theory of evolution as applied to human arts and manufactures. When driven to forming a single collection, as a private collector would naturally be, it is no doubt of more importance to illustrate the pedigree of an art in the Darwinian sense than to illustrate merely its geographical distribution. But I think that a Society like this should endeavour to go beyond even such a collection as that of General Pitt-Rivers, and form a duplicate museum; because there is one great objection which can be urged against a purely sociological collection—*viz.*, that it is apt to become a museum exhibiting the ideas of its curator rather than of mankind. It is all very well, says the objector, to theorize that the junk is a development of the raft, and that the ship is a development of a dug-out canoe, and then to arrange all your boat models so as to illustrate your theory, *i.e.*, to prove it by ocular demonstration. Suppose you are wrong; your museum, so far from checking your theories and testing your ideas, will only serve to perpetuate and strengthen your errors: whereas an ethnological museum, in which the manufactures of each race are put together separately, does, at any rate, show the stage of development to which each race has attained, and is so far practical. Again, it may be objected that in the purely sociological museum, articles from all parts of the world are placed side by side with reference to form only and not with reference to time or place, and thus the connection between them, if there be any at all, is not made clear. The answer to these objections, and

they are strong ones, is to show both the pedigree and the distribution; and undoubtedly in such a museum each division would serve both to explain and check the other, and thus help most materially in the construction of sound theories about the development of the mind of man, as exhibited in the articles he makes for his use and comfort.

The field thus opened out is wide enough for the most enthusiastic. Let us take, for example, the avowedly incomplete Pitt-Rivers' collection, and see what it contains. In the first place it may be considered as consisting of three parts—first, a collection of photographs of the various races of mankind, and with them a series of those skulls which show the best marked social characteristics, and another exhibiting the various modifications in the forms of their skulls which are made by different races; secondly, a collection showing the growth of weapons of all kinds; thirdly, various series, illustrating the development of musical instruments, ornaments, sculpture, painting, and artistic designs of all kinds; and fourthly, those which relate to the development of implements, utensils, houses, ships, machines and strictly useful appliances of all kinds. Of course the two latter series run into one another, and it is impossible to draw a distinct line between them in the case of the lower terms of the series. So General Pitt-Rivers has especially drawn attention to the manner in which primitive implements subserve many uses: how, for example, a spear-head may do duty as a knife, as is the case with the obsidian-headed spears of the Admiralty Islanders, and how the earliest Palæolithic stone implements made for grasping in the hand were no doubt weapons of offence, diggers, hammers, nut-crackers, choppers, all in one. In the second place, considered as a collection of series of objects, the weapons may be enumerated as follows:—armour, shields, body armour, head-dresses, helmets; weapons—boomerangs, picks, bows, cross-bows, quivers, clubs, paddles, staves, spears, javelins, arrows, spuds, harpoons, blades, axes,

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and emblems; music—its requi
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muzzles of their guns in order to use them as pikes. Implements modified on this principle were called "plug-bayonets." One of these in the Pitt-Rivers collection has the date 1647 upon it. The objection to this was that the handle stopped up the muzzle and the gun could never be fired with the bayonet fixed. Now many of the dagger-handles had rings on the guard, and this suggested the idea of fastening the ring on to the muzzle, and the dagger, or plug-bayonet, was thus secured on to the outside of a spring, so that the firelock could be loaded and fired with fixed bayonets. The first introduction of the English to this weapon was in one of the campaigns in Flanders, in the time of William III., and greatly were our men astonished at being fired at with fixed bayonets.

Now in considering how the present bayonet came to be formed, we see—first, that in order to protect himself at close quarters the soldier stuck his dagger—an implement that came to his hand—into the muzzle of the then slow firing gun. Then as the dagger had a ring for the purpose of fastening it to the wrist and preventing it from being lost in a *melée*, this ring was used so that the gun could be fired while the dagger was still on it. The ring had then to be made a fixture on to the dagger to prevent it from slipping about, but the affixed dagger or bayonet had still a great defect—when thrust into anything it came off, and so a click or spring was added to keep it on the gun while temporarily fixed on to it. Here then, we have the application of an article already in existence to a new purpose arising out of new necessities—then its gradual better adaptation to its new purpose by successive partial alterations of what had preceded. This, too, in quite modern times. The bayonet was never invented outright: it clearly grew to be what it is.

Let us now see how long it took highly civilized man to effect these simple alterations in an implement daily used by large numbers. First, in the beginning of the 17th century the danger to the man with the gun began to be perceived and

he was accompanied by a man with a pike, and it took fifty years or so for the development of the idea that the man with the gun could protect himself at close quarters by sticking his dagger on the muzzle of it. It then took another fifty years before the bayonet was so fixed that the gun could be fired while it was on the muzzle, and then quite a century before it was made to remain on the muzzle after being used. This gives us some idea as to how very slowly material improvements are effected in the manufactures of mankind. Here we have an aggregation of the most highly civilized nations in the world taking 200 years to perfect so simple a contrivance as the bayonet: and what we have to bear in mind in considering the volution of the arts is, that it takes the slow-witted untutored savage an indefinitely longer time to make any alteration or improvement in the implements he makes. Indeed, the long stages in the growth of an article are the initial ones.

To take an instance of quite another kind of contrivance, the boat. The rudest sort of boat is that of the Australian blacks, which is a log shaped like a canoe, but still simply a log, *i.e.*, it is not hollowed out in any way. Into this a rail of small sticks is driven, and the navigator paddles about astride of the log with his feet resting against the rail. On this log the Manipur canoe is a small improvement, for in it there is a hole dug out big enough for a man to sit in, the bulk of the log being still solid. The wholly dug-out canoe, *i.e.*, a log hollowed out all through its length, is a distinct advance on this; and the next improvement is the addition of washboards or gunwale pieces, *i.e.*, narrow plank strips added all round the edge by lashing with cane or string to keep the wash of the water out. Then more strips are added above these by lacing or sewing at first,—pinning by plugs of wood and thence by nailing, being much later improvements. The vessel can now be loaded and the washboards have become its most important part, the dug-out canoe at the bottom being entirely under water, and a mere float for

the plank-boat above it. Such a vessel,—steadied by an outrigger—is still to be seen in Ceylon, and there must be many here who have gone ashore in one. As time goes on and progress slowly and steadily is made the planks widen out and the dug-out canoe survives as a keel. The final result is the ordinary plank boat of the day, in which the ribs are the latest development, consequent on the introduction of the use of plugs and nails instead of sewing. In the Fiji Islands the ribs are the last things inserted in the canoes, and are used for uniting the deck to the body of the vessel. The vessel is not built upon them, nor are they used to keep the planks in shape. The dug-out canoes, too, of the boys that come shouting round ships at Aden have false ribs used not to strengthen or support the sides, but as rests for the feet.

Again, a raft consists simply of logs of wood lashed together. The catamaran of Madras is perhaps the simplest form of raft, and from such a contrivance can be formed another kind of vessel to that above considered, by adding wash-boards lashed and laced all round it. Under correction, I may hazard the supposition that the Masulah boat of Madras is such a vessel. At any rate, just as the ship is the ultimate form of the keeled boat, and therefore of the dug-out canoe and the log-float of the Australian black, so it can be shown that the Chinese junk is the ultimate form of the raft-boat: our own river flats and flat-bottomed boats, however, being adaptations to circumstances of the keeled boat.

Now you will all probably agree with me in holding that the clearest and best possible way of explaining all this is by showing the articles themselves or correct models of them; and this I submit is the legitimate aim of an anthropological museum, and what this Society should try and accomplish for India. What has been said as to boats and bayonets is, you should remember, equally applicable to every other thing [illegible]. I have only just returned to India, as you well know, and I have had [illegible] no opportunity of illustrating my remarks by an exhibi[illegible]

manufactured articles, but I can show you one thing that may serve to bring the argument home to you.

I hold in my hand the simplest form of lamp in existence, which is of course familiar to all here, and I need hardly say it is a very old form indeed, though freely used in India to this day. You will see that it is a simple saucer of clay holding a little oil in which a cotton wick is dropped, so that it can be lighted at one end.

But this is far from being a primitive article; for it presupposes the art of pottery in an advanced condition, as it is made by the use of the wheel; it presupposes the arts of expressing oil from plants and of spinning cotton—all of which things the primitive savage is incapable of. However, as a product of civilized man it is as simple as it can be, and in order to explain the first improvement in lamp-making—very old and still in use—I have brought this specimen here still damp from the potter's wheel. You will see that the wick in the saucer lies about anywhere, and that the oil is very liable to spill when it is carried. Very well; if I pinch one end of the saucer, I give it a lip, and so fix the position of the wick, and steady the oil, and you will see that this form is a distinct advance on the saucer, and that it arose out of it. If I want to make the oil still safer I can put a movable cover on the lamp, or I can close it over with a fixed cover.

However, the lamp can still be easily blown out by a passing breath; and now listen: in order to protect the flame man has had to wait for the perfection of the art of glass making, a question of centuries upon centuries. The earthen lamp is to us "as old as Adam;" the lamp chimney is a thing of yesterday. The lamp with a chimney is, however, still imperfect, for the flame has to be regulated to the desired brightness. This is a question of the art of accurate working in metals, and again a matter of many more centuries of improvement in another direction. In fact, looked at thus an ordinary kerosine wall-lamp is a splendid triumph of the human brain, and from the

specimen in my hand you will perceive that it still retains the form of the pinched saucer, showing its origin by its very shape. You may rest assured that a museum, exhibiting the saucer of oil at one end of a series and the kerosine wall-lamp at the other, is a place of real profit to any one taught how to use it, and the lesson is not a difficult one.

So far we have been discussing progress only, but side by side with it there is a certain kind of decay caused by old processes and forms falling out of use in the course of general progress. This decay has a history well worth study and illustration. Thus we have already seen how the canoe float of the primitive boat has degenerated into the keel and then in the case of the flat-bottomed boat disappeared altogether. In the same way the history of several kinds of coins affords a good example of decay in an art arising out of a change in the conditions which gave rise to it. The stock illustration of this is the well known work of Mr. John Evans on Ancient British Coins, but it has not yet suffered from becoming hackneyed, and with your leave I will introduce it here. Philip of Macedon of course coined money, and on his coins were a beautifully executed head on the obverse bound by a wreath, and an equally well executed chariot and driver drawn by two horses on the reverse. This was his personal coin, and so the likeness and the sign of horses and chariot were made to the life. In time this coin became common in Britain and became the standard of coinage. This meant that this particular wreathed head and the chariot *and horses showed the current value of the metal stamped* with it. It was now a sign of value and not the mark of a particular sovereign or ruler, so that whatever passed muster for a wreathed head and a chariot and horses indicated value, and other marks had to be introduced to show the reign. As soon as this occurred the marks showing the coinage of Philip of Macedon began to deteriorate in so regular an order of curtailment that Mr. Evans was enabled successfully to show the order of the reigns of the kings issuing these

distorted coins by the order in which the successive curtailments were brought about. Thus the wreathed head disappeared bit by bit till only the wreath was left, and that was altered at last into a cross. Simultaneously the chariot and two horses became chariot wheels and one horse, and then only a horse's legs and chariot wheels, *i.e*, four downward strokes and two circles, and all this while the driver gradually lost his body and was converted into a winged head. You will see that this came about from each successive alteration being recognised as a sign of value and then being further altered so as to save trouble and yet so as not at once to be beyond recognition. Now anywhere in the world where the same conditions apply the same result is to be seen. I had myself observed before I knew of Mr. Evans' book that the Græco-Bactrian coin having a horseman with a spear on one side and a sitting humped bull on the other had degenerated in Indian hands into a spear, or a line for a spear, for the horseman, and an eye and a hump for the bull; but I am ashamed to say that I had attributed this to bad workmanship only and not to what it undoubtedly is,—a sign to us of the order in which the coins were struck by the successive kings who used them merely as a currency. Any one who has the time can work this point out from the illustrations in *Ariana Antiqua* and from known collections, and it is well worth doing. Again, in 1751, Ahmad Shah Durrani overran the Panjab and gave leave to certain Rajas to issue money. They all took *his* coins for that year, and each put on it a little mark of his own.

The well-known couplet on Ahmad Shah's coin for the year 1751 runs as follows :—

حکم شد از قادر بیچون با حمد بادشاه ·
سکہ زن بر سیم و زر از اوج ماہي تا بہ ماہ

And the mint mark, year, &c., runs thus :—

ضرب سرہند سنہ جلوس ۴ میمنت مانوس

Diagrams referred to in
Capt. R. C. TEMPLE'S address.

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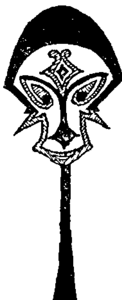


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Capt. R. C. TEMPLE'S address.

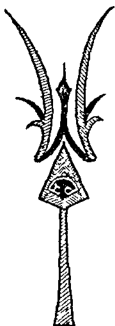
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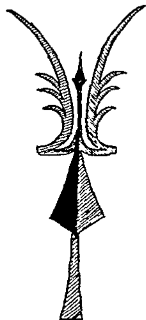
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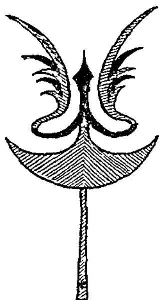
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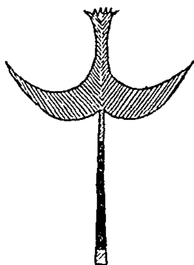


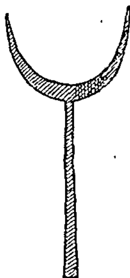
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Diagrams referred to in
Capt. R. C. TEMPLE'S address.







Now these words became the signs of the value of the coins stamped with them, and they have never been altered, although this is 1887, and they are coined to this day, and that under British permission. They have greatly diminished in execution of course, and in some all one can see on one side is the س of the جلوس and the figure ٣. I hope soon to publish a complete set of these coins, the originals of which I lately gave to the British Museum. The same kind of thing has occurred in the coins of Kathiawad, Kachh and Rajputana, and they are worth collecting and examining with this object in view.

I will now give you another stock example from savage life, viz., the ornaments on paddles from New Ireland, where the head and body of a Papuan has degenerated into a half-moon on a stick. To use General Pitt-Rivers' own words, you will see from the diagrams drawn for this purpose by my friend Lt. Molyneux, of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, that "the first figure clearly represents the head of a Papuan: the hair or wig is stuffed out, and the ears elongated by means of an ear ornament after the manner of these people; the eyes are represented by two black dots, and the line of the nose spreads over the forehead. This is the most realistic figure of the series. In the second figure the face is somewhat conventionalized: the line of the nose passes in a coil round the eyes; there is a lozenge pattern on the forehead, representing probably a tattoo mark; the body is represented sitting in full. In the third figure the man is represented sitting sideways, simply by lopping off an arm and a leg on one side. In the fourth figure the legs have disappeared. In the fifth figure the whole body has disappeared. In the sixth figure the nose has expanded at the base, and the sides of the face are made to conform to the line of the nose; the elongated ears are there, but the ear ornament is gone: the nose in this figure is becoming the principal feature. In the seventh figure nothing but the nose is left: the sides of the face and mouth are gone; the ears are drawn along

the side of the nose; the head is gone, but the lozenge pattern on the forehead still remains; the coil round the eyes has also disappeared, and is replaced by a kind of leaf form, suggested by the upper lobe of the ear in the previous figures; the eyes are brought down into the nose. In the eighth figure the ears are drawn at right angles to the nose. In the ninth figure the nose has expanded at the base; all the rest is the same as in the last figure. In the tenth figure the lozenge pattern and the ears have disappeared, and a vestige of them only remains, in the form of five points; the base of the nose is still further expanded into a half moon. In the last figure nothing but a half moon remains. No one who compared this figure with the first of the series, without the explanation afforded by the intermediate links, would believe that it represented the nose of a human face;" but given that the design originally meant that the paddle so marked belonged to a particular tribe and class, and the reason for its degeneration is established.

There is another lesson that comparative mythologists especially might learn from this as to the deductions they are so fond of. It does not at all follow that, because a tribe uses a half-moon ornament, it means any reference to the moon by it. Lately there was published a series of articles on Asiatic Symbolism in my journal, the *Indian Antiquary*, tending to show that the *svastika* and the Greek key-pattern had a reference to religious worship, as sun and fire symbols, and there have been published elsewhere all kind of ideas as to the religious significance of the pointing of the *svastika* to the right or left. However, it can be shown with great plausibility that both the *svastika* and the key-pattern—which, by the way, are *not local but universal* designs, are derived by ordinary evolution from another universal pattern; see plate.

You will see that what is called the European and Asiatic Series commences with what General Pitt-Rivers has named the double loop coil of the bronze period, supposed to have

Diagrams referred to in
Capt. R. C. TEMPLE'S address.

AMERICAN SERIES.

1 — PERU — CENTRAL AMERICA

2 — MARQUISAS

3 — PERU — ECUADOR

4 — PERU

5 — PERU

EUROPEAN & ASIATIC SERIES.

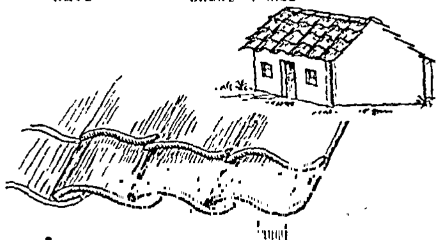
1 — BRONZE PERIOD

2 — JAPAN.

3 — NEW ZEALAND. — NEW GUINEA.

4

5 — WAVE — BRONZ P RIOD



been suggested by coils of string,—and I may here remark that cases of patterns rising from the forms assumed by common objects are very usual. This when squared is the Greek key-pattern, of which, in an elaborated form, the *svastika*, or so-called mystic cross, is the central portion. You will see also that it is found everywhere, from Europe to Japan, and also in New Zealand and New Guinea, the connection between the former of which and Asia may be inferred from many other sources of information. It also develops into a form called the wave pattern, and into some other complicated patterns. We now come to a very interesting set of facts, for a similar series exists in the New World, which is evidently developed in precisely the same way and which is now exhibited in its various forms in the American Series.

You will remember that the initial pattern of the two series is usually called the double loop coil and is supposed to be derived from coils of string: but my friend Dr. Watt suggests, on the same principle of development from common objects, that it really represents the pattern naturally and very commonly described by the tiles of an ordinary roof. Mr. Molyneux has kindly drawn one such for me to exhibit this idea. I have much pleasure in bringing this idea forward as being a more plausible theory than General Pitt-Rivers'.

I have detained you all quite long enough in showing what is meant by the evolution of culture, how human arts progress and always have progressed continuously, how the apparent decadence that runs along side by side with progress is only a feature of that progress and its necessary concomitant, and how the various stages of progress and decadence can be advantageously exhibited in an Anthropological Museum of the kind I advocate. Let me now explain what our peculiar advantages to this end in India, and here in Bombay, are.

You will remember that the main objection to General Pitt-Rivers' scheme is that he goes to all parts of the world for his facts and for the illustration of his theories, without reference

to any known historical connection between them. Now mark this. In India, as is well known, we have in full swing at one and the same time every kind of civilisation, the most primitive and the most advanced, the most ancient and the most modern. In India we have in very truth the whole history of culture in practice before our eyes: the entire sequence of the progress of the arts is here. All we have to do is to bring together the necessary series. And mark this also. While we have not to go beyond our borders for our facts we know well that as far as regard the arts there has been a real connection between all parts of India from all time. Could the evolution of culture and the science of anthropology be worked out with better natural advantages? Being then so fortunate in the conditions of the problem let us set to work with energy, ever bearing in mind what it is that we should do:—to collect together specimens and exact models of every common object made or used in India in ancient or modern times by any of its inhabitants, however rude or however civilized, and to so arrange the collection that the culture of each people shall be exhibited, together with the general culture of the whole land. Nothing is too trivial—nothing too common or ordinary for our purpose. We should show the evolution of every article and more than that of every component part of every complex article. Every kind of agricultural implement for digging, ploughing, sowing, harrowing, clod-crushing, irrigating, thrashing, garnering, stacking, holding, storing, cleaning, distributing, should be shown. Every machine for locomotion should be collected—carts, for instance, of all sorts, with and without wheels, for there *are* carts without wheels in this wonderful land. Every part of a cart in its various forms, as wheel, axle, body, shaft, pole, yoke, should be shown as a separate article. Every machine for navigation, boats, rafts, floats, canoes, ships, skins, and every implement to assist navigation, the sail, mast, spar, rudder, oar, paddle, pole, seat, keel, has of course a separate history

of its own which can be exhibited. Then there are objects connected with man and his dwellings, houses, huts, tents, in wood, leaf, stone, brick, mud, cloth, to be considered, and the multifarious parts of these, each with its own evolution, for shelter, warmth, light, coolness, strength, endurance. Also things relating to food and drink and the methods of preparing food and drink. Clothing, too, and its evolution is a very wide subject, together with the means of making it and adorning it. The very minor point of jewellery, and its forms and origin is an enormous subject in India. Religious appliances, and contrivances for offence and defence, again, could almost be made each into the study of a lifetime; let alone the very numerous and complicated requirements of civilized life, every one of which has a most instructive history. In fact, one could without difficulty go on enumerating series of articles to be collected almost *ad infinitum.*

There is then enough and to spare of material; and the trouble and expense at first, at any rate, need not be great; but it requires system, and the necessary system could no doubt be adequately elaborated by the Council of this Society. Let us collect, I urge, in duplicate from the beginning, exhibiting ethnological culture as above defined at once and waiting for an opportunity to exhibit sociological culture. Believe me that that opportunity will come as soon as it becomes urgent. In due time, too, a catalogue will be required, which must be much more than a mere list; for it must explain the reasons for, and the significance of the peculiar arrangement of the Museum. But it will itself then become a factor in the educational value of the Institution—to my mind the most important consideration of all. But whatever we do, let me once more impress upon you this—that we must collect common every-day objects and not curiosities.

One word more. A museum of the kind I advocate, if properly put together, with an efficient catalogue, will be an institution of the highest educational description, and will really

advance the study we have taken up. Well: we have an example before us that should infuse life into the work of constructing it. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, the oldest and still the most hale and hearty of any in existence, started a museum which was the nucleus of the now great and national Indian Museum at Calcutta. That is a proud achievement. Perhaps then, who knows?—if we do our work as we ought, this City of Bombay may also one day be the possessor of an institution—great, national, thoroughly practical, educational and worthy of it, that will owe its useful existence to the efforts of this Society—to you and me. Surely this is an object well worthy of being set before us.

HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT.

STATEMENT A.

STATEMENT* SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS FOR THE YEAR 1886.

Total number of Members			314
Deduct.			
Colonel James G. Bell, Amraoti, (*resigned*) ...	1		
W. Forman, Esq., District Judge, Hydrabad, Sind, (*deceased*) ...	1		
H. S. King, Esq., B.A., M.P. (*see foot-note*) ...	1		3

NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

Remaining on 31st December 1886 ...	311

* *Note.*—Messrs. King, King & Co., by mistake, paid Rs. 10 on account of Mr. H. S. King, B.A., M.P., who, however, it afterwards appeared, had not joined the Society. The amount was accordingly refunded.

(Signed) W. P. WALSHE,
Honorary Treasurer.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY,

Bombay, 31st December 1886.

STATEMENT

Statement showing the Receipts and Expenditure of the

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	a.	p.
Amount of Subscriptions and Donations received and paid into the Bank of Bombay during the year, as per Statement C......Rs.	3,315	4	0
Rupees......	3,315	4	0

Note.—At the close of the year there remained Subscriptions to be collected Rs. 380, of which amount there has been recovered to date (21-2-87) Rs. 230, leaving *outstanding* in Europe Rs. 70, in India Rs. 80—total outstanding, Rs. 150.

B.

Anthropological Society of Bombay during the year 1886.

Expenditure.		Rs a. p.
Books and Periodicals		125 4 0
Clothing to Peons		49 3 0
Dead Stock Charges		417 12 0
Establishment		258 0 7
House Rent		300 0 0
Miscellaneous Charges		132 4 0
Postal and Receipt Stamps		111 14 0
Printing Charges		135 4 0
Refunds		10 0 0
Stationery and Binding Charges...........		161 4 0
Balance.		1,700 11 1
Balance of petty cash in hand of the Honorary Secretary (Mr. Basil Scott).	6 0 6	
Balance in the Bank of Bombay	1,608 5 2	1,614 5 8
Total .....Rupees	....	3,315 4 0

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) K. R. CAMA, (Signed) W. P. WALSHE,
" E. R. CALTHROP, *Honorary Treasurer.*
Auditors.

Anthropological Society of Bombay,
Bombay, 31st December 1886.

STATEMENT

	AMOUNT SUBSCRIBED AS UNDER.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
	Members, Life.						
	The Hon'ble Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E., Barrister-at-Law	100	0	0			
2	Kharsedji Rustomji Cama, Esq.	100	0	0			
					200	0	0
	Members, Annual.						
	H. H. the Nawab of Hyderabad. Deccan.	100	0	0			
	H. H. the Thakur Saheb of Bhownuggur	50	0	0			
3	H. H. the Nawab of Junagad	15	0	0			
289	Members elected up to 31st October 1886, at Rs. 10 each........	2,890	0	0			
	Received from one member for cost of exchange on his cheque on Mangalore.	0	4	0			
20	Members elected between 1st November and 31st December 1886, at Rs. 10 each	200	0	0			
					3,255	4	0
	Special Donations.						
	From H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Junagad, Kattiawar........	100	0	0			
	From H. H. the Thakur Saheb of Bhownuggur	50	0	0			
	From H. H. the Nawab of Cambay, (also paid ordinary annual subscription for 1886)	40	0	0			
	From H. H. the Rajah of Rutlam, (also paid ordinary annual subscription for 1886)	30	0	0			
					220	0	0
	Subscriptions received in advance for 1887.						
	Annual subscriptions received in advance from the undermentioned members :—						
	D. C. J. Ibbetson, Esq., Punjab	10	0	0			
	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Prinsep, Calcutta	10	0	0			
314	Total Members.				20	0	0
	Total amount...Rupees.	......			3,695	4	0

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY,

Bombay, 31*st December* 1886.

SOCIETY'S BALANCE SHEET.

C.

	Amount of Subscriptions and Donations received as under	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs	a	p
	Members, Life.						
	The Hon'ble Mr Kashinath Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B, C.I E., Barrister-at-Law ...	100	0	0			
2	Kharsedji Rustomji Cama, Esq	100	0	0	200	0	0
	Members, Annual.						
	From H. H. the Thakur Saheb of Bhownuggur for the year ending 31st December 1886 ...	50	0	0			
2	From H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Junagad ...	15	0	0			
273	From (273) members elected up to 31st October 1886 ...	2,730	0	0			
	Received from one member for cost of exchange on his cheque on Mangalore	0	4	0			
8	From (8) members elected between 1st November and 31st December 1886 .	80	0	0	2,875	4	0
	Special Donations.						
	From H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Junagad, Kattiawar ...	100	0	0			
	From H. H. the Thakur Saheb of Bhownuggur ...	50	0	0			
	From H. H. the Nawab of Cambay ...	40	0	0			
	From H. H. the Rajah of Rutlam ...	30	0	0	220	0	0
	Subscriptions received in advance for 1887.						
	Amount of annual subscriptions recovered from the undermentioned members for the year 1887 :—						
•	D. C. J. Ibbetson, Esq. Punjab ...	10	0	0			
	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Prinsep, Calcutta	10	0	0	20	0	0
29	Balance remaining to be recovered from 29 members ...	......			*380	0	0
314	Total Members.						
	Total amount ..Rupees	......			3,695	4	0

(Signed) W. P. WALSHE,
Honorary Treasurer.

* Of this amount there has been recovered to date (21-2-87) Rs. 230, leaving outstanding in Europe Rs. 70, in India Rs. 80—total outstanding Rs 150.

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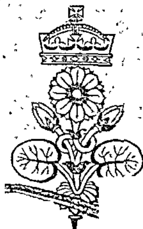
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